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The lamb and the warrior : manhood, militarism and the diocese of London 1890-1914

Thesis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the relationship between the diocese of London and the military culture that was arguably prevalent in sections of English society in the quarter of a century preceding the outbreak of the First World War.

The various definitions of militarism are initially discussed. Then the gender, social, military and political influences that impacted upon and informed the Church of England in its response to the questions of masculinity and militarism in the pre-war years are analysed. As a counter balance to this the role and influence of the various peace movements within the church are discussed. The diocese of London is then placed within the social and demographic environment evident in the changing urban landscape of pre-1914 London.

Those areas of society that were representative and supportive of the military element evident in sections of pre-war English society are then discussed, and the church's role within these analysed. It is argued that whilst there were elements of the church that were supportive, such support was not all-embracing but restricted and from specific sectors, education being one example, and the overall numbers involved are low. In particular the involvement of the church with the National Service League was minimal and therefore its influence upon, and by, this organisation was more muted than some commentators have implied. This lack of involvement was specifically apparent within the geographical boundaries of the diocese of London. When this is allied to a detailed analysis of army chaplain involvement, with initially the Volunteers and later the Territorial Force within the diocese, questions are raised about not only support at a local parish level but also

about the support the episcopal and hierarchical elements within the diocese had for these aspects of a militarised culture.

A detailed assessment of local parish involvement in the various lads'/boys' brigades and scout troops highlights the reasonably low percentage of parishes within the diocese of London that participated within these organisations. It also underlines the various challenges, including a shortage of finance and a lack of willing officer material from the local population, which faced many of the parishes. There is evidence of a failure, or unwillingness, at a hierarchical and administrative level within the diocese to act upon the opportunities and to engender a positive and effective relationship between the church and the military, particularly at an individual and local level.

This thesis extends the arguments concerning the involvement of the lamb with the warrior by qualifying the views of many commentators that the Church of England generally, and the diocese of London, particularly through its bishop, Winnington-Ingram, was complicit in any militarism prevalent in pre-war England.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BB	Boys’ Brigade
BPBS	Baden-Powell Boy Scouts
CERC	Church of England Rifle Cadets
CLB	Church Lads’ Brigade
CLCBG	Church Lads’ and Church Girls’ Brigade Record Centre
GMS	Guildhall Library Manuscripts
LDBS	London Diocesan Boy Scouts
LDCLB	London Diocesan Church Lads’ Brigade
LDCWYM	London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men¹
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
NSL	National Service League
OTC	Officers’ Training Corps
SA	Scout Association Archives
TCL	Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys and Girls of London

¹ By 1910 this organisation had become the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Lads (LDCWL).

‘The Lamb and the Warrior’: Manhood, Militarism and the Diocese of London 1890-1914¹

CHAPTER 1

‘We Hear of War and Rumours of War’²

In his New Year letter of December 1914 the Right Rev Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram,³ Bishop of London wrote that ‘there must be something noble, if not in war, at least in what war brings out in human nature’ and later that ‘there is a bright side to war’ and that ‘the war may redeem the world’.⁴ The Most Rev Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his New Year letter, wrote in a similar vein when he

¹ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), DRO53/273, St Paul Haringay, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Jul 1908): quotation taken from a sermon given by Rev. Ralph Charlewood Turner curate at the parish, on 31 May 1908 titled ‘The Vision of the Crowned Warrior’, in which it is stated that ‘the Lamb and the Warrior are yet the same.’

² LMA, P74/SAV/102, St Saviour Kensington, Parish Magazines 1906-11 (Nov 1911): sermon given on 8 October 1911.

³ Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram was Bishop of London from 1901 until 1939 when he retired. Prior to his appointment he had held positions in London from 1888, primarily in the East End; Head of Oxford House, Vicar of St Matthew Bethnal Green, Rural Dean of Spitalfields & Bishop of Stepney. The format of his name ranged from A. F. W. Ingram, through A. F. Winnington Ingram (without the hyphen) and A. F. Winnington-Ingram. This latter format appeared on most of his published works and in his *Crockford’s* entry in the 1930s – and this will be used throughout this thesis.

⁴ *The Times*, 31 Dec 1914, p. 11.

referred to the 'sacredness of the call which has rung out to our manhood' and that 'the cause is great which has called us to arms'.⁵ This thesis will discuss whether these comments, which glorified and sanctified war, reflected opinions that had been widely held within the Church of England and specifically the diocese of London in the quarter of a century prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Similar views had not been to the fore three months after the outbreak of the Boer War when Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London, in his New Year Message at the end of December 1899, referred not to the redemptive powers of war but of the need to 'have more sympathy for other peoples and more charity towards all men'. The final comment in the message could be interpreted as an indictment of the hostilities in South Africa with its 'wish to settle a matter by words rather than deeds'.⁶ However there were other actions, or lack of action, from the Church of England generally that either implied support for that war, or a certain level of indifference. In October 1899, the same month that the Boer War started, a Church Congress was held in London; neither the pre-prepared agenda, nor any late addenda, covered the topic of South Africa.⁷ During the Congress, Mandell Crighton gave an Address at the Albert Hall that also did not mention the situation in South Africa.⁸

Prior to the Boer War starting there had been elements within the church that voiced their opposition and Margaret Blunden comments on 'four prominent Anglican clergymen [who] signed the National Memorial against the threatened war in South

⁵ *The Times*, 31 Dec 1914, p. 11.

⁶ *The Times*, 30 Dec 1899, p. 7: the last comment predates Churchill's Cold War comment in 1954 that to 'jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war.'

⁷ *The Times*, 1 Sep. 1899, p. 8; the Congress took place between 10 -13 October and it was during that period that the final communiqués were being exchanged between the British government and the Boers.

⁸ *The Times*, 11 Oct 1899, p. 5.

Africa'.⁹ *The Times* reported that the 'national memorial against war with the Transvaal [...] was first published on 30 September' and that 'at least eleven large provincial churches formally passed a congregational vote approving the memorial'.¹⁰ It was also reported that 'hundreds of clergymen of all denominations sent their names' to the memorial.¹¹ As discussed in chapter 2, other elements within the Church of England, the Christian Socialists being an example, opposed the war, however, particularly once hostilities had started, 'most Anglican clergyman rallied behind the Union Jack'.¹² This support was not unexpected and Anglicans 'responded patriotically once the war began' in line with their response to 'every earlier nineteenth-century war in which Britain took part'.¹³ This support for the war was apparent within the diocese of London, where as discussed in chapter 6, the number of parishes with youth organisations noticeably increased in the last quarter of 1899. There were also examples of talks about the war, one instance being at St Michael at Bowes Southgate where in 1901 a Lantern Lecture was given on the 'Heroism and Self Sacrifice of our Soldiers in the South African War'.¹⁴ Across the country, after the Boer War, there was a growth in rifle shooting and this as it impacted upon the individual parishes in the diocese of London, together with the development of rifle ranges, in some instances on church property, is discussed in chapter 5. There were also those within the diocese who considered the war to be an opportunity

⁹ Margaret Blunden, 'The Anglican Church during the War', in *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, ed. by Peter Warwick (Harlow: Longman Group Limited, 1980), pp. 279-291 (p. 279), the only clergyman mentioned was John Percival, Bishop of Hereford. Blunden's article is useful but tends to concentrate on the Anglican clergy and community in South Africa.

¹⁰ *The Times*, 13 Oct 1899, p. 10 & 4 Oct 1899, p. 10; the denominations of the 'eleven large provincial churches' were not given.

¹¹ *The Times*, 6 Oct 1899, p. 7.

¹² G. R. Searle, *A New England?: Peace and War 1886-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p. 289.

¹³ Blunden, 'The Anglican Church', p. 280.

¹⁴ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Apr 1901). The inter-relationship between the local parish and the military and military culture in general is discussed in detail in chapter 5 and the concept of self-sacrifice forms part of the analysis in chapter 2.

for the country to change its materialistic and worldly ways and re-find its spirituality, and this theme is discussed in chapter 2.

The change in emphasis and stance evident when comparing the New Year messages of 1899 and 1914 will be assessed during this thesis to ascertain whether this reflected a hardening of the militarism within the church and society after the turn of the century or an acknowledgement of the inherent difference between the Boer War and the First World War in terms of threat and dynamics and/or a testimony to the two different personalities involved. Were Winnington-Ingram's comments a specific response, moulded by the growing war spirit, and the realities of the first five months of hostilities, with reported atrocities and increasing casualty figures having impacted upon more judicious comment? This was a view held by Canon Henry Scott Holland¹⁵ who considered that in August 1914 the military spirit was not in the ascendancy in pre-war England, as 'we entered into the war at a moment when we were free from all war fever or passion.'¹⁶ Or was the bellicosity that was present once war had been declared already in sections of the public psyche prior to events of August 1914, and if so was it prevalent within the Church of England and specifically the diocese of London? This question is at the heart of the discussion concerning the militarism and military spirit within the pre-war church and society.

Writing in the local parish magazine, in the early days following the outbreak of war, the vicar of St Andrew Stoke Newington had no doubt that 'the growth of the modern military spirit' had been one of the causes of the outbreak of war. Later in the same

¹⁵ H. Scott Holland was Canon at St Pauls between 1884 and 1910 at which date he became Canon of Christ Church Oxford.

¹⁶ *The Times*, 4 Jan 1915, p. 4: quoting from Scott Holland's prayers on the National Day of Intercession held on 3 Jan.

article he commented that most nations had a 'professional military class whose interest lies in war and not in peace'.¹⁷ His analysis echoed that of the vicar of St Mary Stoke Newington who had commented, when the Boer War was imminent that, 'now that the implements of warfare are more murderous than ever [...] no means of staying hostilities should be left untried, I am aware that this view is not popular with many who seem to revel in the sound of fight [...] nevertheless I trust that each of us will [...] disown this spirit'.¹⁸

Militarism has attracted many differing definitions. C. B. Otley defines militarism as 'the doctrine and practice of exacting war' whilst Paul Laity considers it a belief system that 'welcomes war as the main agency of human progress'.¹⁹ Militarism differs from militarisation. The latter ensures that a society has the material means to wage war, which include amongst other things the armaments of war; the army, the rifle and the ammunition, whilst the former ensures that there is the right frame of mind to 'pull the trigger'. Peter H. Wilson defines the difference as 'militarisation denoting the capacity to wage war and militarism the mental and cultural willingness to embark on it'. He later expands on this, and introduces the concept of 'cultural militarisation' which 'entails the wider presence of military culture in society beyond military institutions' and 'can extend from passive acceptance to active endorsement and promotion of military values and of

¹⁷ LMA, P96/AND/205, St Andrew Stoke Newington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Aug/Sep combined issue): later comments in the magazine confirm that this comment related to England as well as Germany.

¹⁸ LMA, P94/MRY/247, St Mary Stoke Newington, Parish Magazines 1898-99 (Aug 1899).

¹⁹ C. B. Otley, 'Militarism and Militarization in the Public Schools 1900-1972', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 29 No. 3 (Sep 1978), 321-339 (p. 322); Paul Laity, *The British Peace Movement 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 6; Laity's view is in line with that of Martin Ceadel in *Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations 1854-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For further discussion on war playing 'a positive role in the development of man and the nation' see Zara Steiner, 'Views of War: Britain Before the Great War – and After', *International Relations*, Vol. 17 No. 3 (2003), 7-33 (p. 8).

the institutions associated with them'.²⁰ In this concept 'cultural militarisation' equates to militarism; its existence does not require a state of war but military trappings and modes of action and thought are to the fore within certain sectors of society. This concept of cultural militarisation reflects that of Alfred Vagts who describes militarism as 'an emphasis on military considerations, spirit, ideas and scales of values' that 'covers every system of thinking and valuing and every complex of feelings'.²¹

These definitions of militarism were reflected by Anne Summers when she describes pre-war Britain as containing 'a very wide and pervasive range of military or militaristic modes of thinking', whilst Geoffrey Best refers to militarism being 'such a conspicuous element in pre-1914 European thought'.²² The mindset required to wage war, implicit in this cultural militarisation, is according to Best 'far more than incidents and assassinations, telegrams and ultimata responsible for the causation of war'.²³ Militarism therefore defines a society, or sections within that society, in which through the encompassing of military customs and actions the 'military spirit' the embodiment of the military ethos gains a paramount position and influence. In order to maintain and cultivate the cultural militarisation within the popular consciousness of pre-1914 society, Heather Street argues that the army and in particular certain elements within the officer corps 'used *The Times* as a billboard for enhancing the visibility and appeal of the army by reporting parades manoeuvres and speeches that were sure to include smart-looking

²⁰ Peter H. Wilson, 'Defining Military Culture', *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 72 (Jan 2008), 11-41 (p. 40, 41).

²¹ Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1959 – revised edition, originally published on the eve of the Second World War), p. 14, 17.

²² Anne Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *History Workshop*, Vol. 2 (Autumn 1976), 104-123 (p. 105); Geoffrey Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School' in *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution*, ed. by Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan Ltd, 1975), pp. 127-146 (p. 130).

²³ Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School' p. 130.

uniformed units and marching music'.²⁴ In addition to this use of *The Times*, W. Michael Ryan argues that Lieutenant-Colonel Charles a Court Repington, the paper's military correspondent during the period 1905-18, 'disseminated propaganda, in the pre-1914 era, designed to foster the construction of a British military force to combat German malevolence', which was significant in 'shaping [...] the reading public's perception of German intentions'.²⁵ This marketing of the military worked, for according to R. J. Q. Adams, 'public interest in the military continued to increase in Britain [...] during the years before August 1914'.²⁶

There has been and continues to be debate on whether militarism was prevalent in pre-war England. In the 1930s Caroline E. Playne, who prior to the war had been a member of the Church of England Peace League, considered that the military spirit of pre-1914 England meant that 'the war primarily became inevitable [...] because of the state of mind of the people generally'.²⁷ Writing in the 1970s Olive Anderson commented on the 'strident militarism so common in late nineteenth century Britain' and Ian Worthington considers that there had been a 'general attempt to militarise society' in pre-1914 England.²⁸ This view was endorsed in the following decade by R. J. Q. Adams and Philip P. Poirier who wrote of the 'popularity of military preparedness', and John

²⁴ Heather Streets, 'Military Influences in Late Victorian and Edwardian Popular Media: The Case of Frederick Roberts', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol. 8 No. 2 (Autumn 2003), 231-257 (p. 246).

²⁵ W. Michael Ryan, 'The Invasion Controversy of 1906-1908: Lieutenant-Colonel Charles a Court Repington and British Perceptions of the German Menace', *Military Affairs*, Vol. 44 No. 1 (Feb 1980), 8-12 (p. 8, 12).

²⁶ R. J. Q. Adams, 'The National Service League and Mandatory Service in Edwardian Britain', *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 12 No. 1 (Fall 1985), 53-74 (p. 62).

²⁷ Caroline E. Playne, *Society at War 1914-1916* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1931), p. 13.

²⁸ Olive Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 86 No. 338 (Jan 1971), 46-72 (p. 46); Ian Worthington, 'Socialization, Militarization and Officer Recruiting: The Development of the Officer Training Corps', *Military Affairs*, Vol. 43 No. 2 (Apr 1979), 90-95 (p. 90).

Springhall, who refers to the 'prevailing Edwardian military culture'.²⁹ More recently Bernard Semmel refers to the pre-war period as one with a 'bellicose outlook', whilst Andrew Bradstock hears the 'swelling strain of militarism' and Keith Surridge considers that 'during the whole of the long Edwardian period identification with military subjects and the military ethos was prominent throughout society'.³⁰ Zara Steiner argues that in Britain in 'the decades which preceded 1914 [...] there was an interest in military matters which went beyond the concern of the professional military elite,' and Allen J. Frantzen describes a society that had 'militarised the moral and civil life'.³¹

However whilst all these views point towards a society in which militarism, or a militarised culture, were prevalent there are other commentators who disagree with this analysis. Michael Howard argues that 'although Edwardian Britain was conscious of the need for the martial virtues and spasmodic efforts were made to inculcate them it cannot be called a militaristic society' and Ian F. W. Beckett states it would be 'misplaced to assume [...] that Britain was a militarised society prior to 1914'.³² Niall Ferguson uses the phrase 'The Myths of Militarism' as a chapter heading in his book *The Pity of War* and G. R. Searle comments that 'compared with most European countries Great Britain

²⁹ R. J. Q. Adams & Philip P. Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain 1900-18* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1987), p. 5; John Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement Before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 102 No. 405 (Oct 1987), 934-942 (p. 937).

³⁰ Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 121; Andrew Bradstock, 'Introduction' in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock and others (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 1-9 (p. 3); Keith Surridge, 'More than a Great Poster: Lord Kitchener and the Image of the Military Hero', *Historical Research*, Vol. 74 No. 185 (Aug 2001), 298-313 (p. 307).

³¹ Steiner, 'Views of War' p. 8; Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 152.

³² Michael Howard, 'Empire, Race, War in Pre-1914 Britain', *History Today*, Vol. 31 No. 12 (Dec 1981), 4-11 (p. 10); Ian Beckett, 'A Nation in Arms 1914-18' in *A Nation in Arms: A Social Study of the British Army in the First World War* ed. by Ian F. W. Beckett and Keith Simpson (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Select, 2004), pp. 1-35 (p. 4).

was remarkably unmilitarised' and that 'militarism as an ideology by no means swept all before it'.³³

One of the bases of Summers' argument that militarism was prevalent prior to August 1914 is that the 1.5 million subsequent volunteers implied the development over a long period of a state of mind that was conducive to the needs of the military.³⁴ This argument is developed by Robert A. Nye when he states that 'the raising of willing armies is best accomplished, when military ideals are maintained at a simmer and their representation and values are kept fresh, by commemoration, by national myths and by masculine civilian practices that are readily adaptable to soldierly ends'.³⁵ This is the embodiment and outcome of a society that is imbued with militarism; a society that has a mindset that immediately responds to the need to 'wage war' and that is already enmeshed in military modes and practices. One test of the adaptability and countenance of 'soldierly ends', within a society, is the status of its armies, both regular and 'volunteer'. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the Edwardian period the 'volunteer' aspect of the British military evidenced many changes, and by August 1914 in addition to the regular army there were three different 'volunteer' forces; the Militia, the Yeomanry and the Territorial Force. The Territorial Force had been introduced, as part of Haldane's reforms in the mid-1900s, and was envisioned as 'replacing, absorbing and improving' the existing auxiliaries.³⁶ However in reality the absorption meant primarily the volunteers as elements of the militia and yeomanry were retained. In certain aspects the

³³ Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1998), Chapter 1. pp. 1-30; Searle, *A New England?*, pp. 510 & 515.

³⁴ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 105.

³⁵ Robert A. Nye, 'Western Masculinities in War and Peace', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 112 No. 2 (2007), 417-438 (p. 418).

³⁶ Ian F. W. Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers: The Amateur Military Tradition 1558-1945* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011), p. 213; Richard Burdon Haldane, 1st Viscount Haldane was Secretary of State for War between 1905 and 1912.

creation of the Territorial Force mirrored the introduction of the Volunteers fifty years earlier. In the late 1850s the Volunteers had been introduced because the ‘existing auxiliary forces’ the Militia and the Yeomanry, were ‘unrepresentative’ of the new growing urban society.³⁷ The demographic, social and economic forces that influenced the metropolitan diocese of London in the pre-war years are discussed in chapter 3 but these challenges, inherent within the change from an agrarian to an urban environment, were already apparent in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. This social and demographic impulse was, by the late-1850s, augmented by concerns over perceived French hostility, which contained within it a threat of invasion.³⁸ It was partly within this climate of change and threat that the Volunteers were formed as an additional force to the Militia and Yeomanry.

By the turn of the century the Militia was supplying a substantial ‘percentage of the [regular] army’s manpower requirements’ but its social composition was still resonant of an agrarian environment, with in excess of thirty percent of its men being agricultural labourers and less than ten percent being urban artisans.³⁹ As such it had little relevance within the pre-war diocese of London. Yeomanry numbers declined during the closing decades of the nineteenth century from just under sixteen thousand officers and men in 1871 to slightly less than twelve thousand in 1899.⁴⁰ Whilst some new urban based Yeomanry were formed, one example in 1901 being the Westminster Dragoons, in the same year, the fact that ‘the distribution of the four squadrons of a new yeomanry

³⁷ Beckett, *Britain’s Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 164.

³⁸ Chapters 2 & 5 discuss the invasion threats prevalent in the 1900s, where Germany has replaced France as the bellicose European nation in the English psyche.

³⁹ Beckett, *Britain’s Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 187.

⁴⁰ Beckett, *Britain’s Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 189.

regiment raised in Essex matched that of the four hunts in the county' highlighted and accentuated the Yeomanry's agrarian and social routes.⁴¹ In contrast with the Militia and Yeomanry, most Volunteers 'were to be found in the large urban centres'.⁴² Whilst initially the movement had looked to attract the middle classes in the cities it found favour with the artisans, who were so poorly represented in the other auxiliary forces. In the diocese of London the rank and file of the volunteers appeared to comprise 'a strong core of lower middle-class men' with a marked 'dependence upon clerks'.⁴³

After the Boer War 'the whole thrust of regular military opinion [...] was that neither militia nor volunteers could be safely entrusted with the defence of the country' and Haldane looked to create a 'unity of army and society' in the new Territorial Force.⁴⁴ However, despite many of the existing Volunteer battalions being replaced by Territorial Force units, upon its commencement, 'less than 40 per cent of the existing volunteers and yeomen were to transfer' to the new organisation.⁴⁵ This failure to attract membership was a constant problem and the Territorial Force in the pre-war years was never able to reach its establishment figures and this is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

The public façade of pre-war English military culture was therefore the army and the various auxiliary forces and they would naturally be complicit in any militarism prevalent within pre-war England. One other important element in judging the militarism within a society is the instant nature of the response and as such Summers' quest for the reason why 1.5 million volunteered is not the best question by which the nature of pre-1914

⁴¹ Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 190; The August 1914 *Army List* (471) shows the Westminster Dragoons as the 2nd County of London Yeomanry, Territorial Force.

⁴² Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 172.

⁴³ Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 174; this is borne out by the sobriquet of certain volunteer battalions of the King's Royal Rifle Corps listed in the March 1891 *Army List* (631-633); the 12th Middlesex (Civil Service), the 25th Middlesex (Bank of England).

⁴⁴ Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 209 & 213.

⁴⁵ Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 217.

militarism in England can be answered. Not all the 1.5 million volunteered immediately upon the outbreak of war. Those who responded after the early days of the war would have been influenced by military success or failure, casualties, talk of atrocities and propaganda all of which would in some way have impacted upon public and individual opinion – minds are hardened, views become more entrenched and the ‘enemy’ is demonised. This change in public opinion resultant upon the outbreak of hostilities is the main reason why this thesis covers the period up to August 1914 but not past that date. As the Rev M. F Foxell of Friern Barnet wrote in 1916 ‘it is not altogether easy for us in the very turmoil of conflict with the din of battle deafening our ears and dulling our minds to assume and retain the attitude of mental abstraction which is essential to the adequate discussion of the subject of war in general’.⁴⁶ It was to be expected that volunteer numbers would have increased as ‘battle was joined’ as the ‘turmoil’, ‘din’ and ‘dulling’ worked upon society’s psyche. This view is endorsed by Roy Douglas who states that fighting ‘seemed to be a general stimulus for recruitment’.⁴⁷

Hence a true assessment of the pre-war ‘military spirit’ within the population needs to focus on its initial and immediate responses to the outbreak of war. As with the level of militarism within society there have been differing views on the strength of the immediate response to the events of early August 1914. The concept of the ‘rush to the colours’ in August 1914 was best described by Playne who wrote of volunteers who ‘plunged into the adventure of death’ and ‘rushed headlong on their missions’.⁴⁸ Later,

⁴⁶ Imperial War Museum (IWM), MMF3 05/29/1 Unpublished Manuscript by Rev M. F. Foxell ‘The Ultimate Appeal’, (Friern Barnett, 1916): I consider that a change in public opinion is common and apparent in all conflicts particularly in the opening stages of a war. Twenty-first century examples have been the reduction in opposition to the Afghanistan & Iraq Wars once ‘our boys’ were in the firing line.

⁴⁷ Roy Douglas, ‘Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the Work of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee’, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 42 No. 4 (Dec 1970), 564-585 (p. 569).

⁴⁸ Playne, *Society at War*, p. 21, 28.

Douglas comments that 'the rush of men to join the colours in the first few weeks must have been an embarrassment' to the War Office who appeared to be unprepared; Searle endorses this view commenting that the War Office was 'surprised even embarrassed'.⁴⁹ A diary entry of the time supported these views referring to an 'atmosphere of real passion' and the response to the call for recruits being 'immediate'.⁵⁰ Similar responses were also evident in certain parishes across the diocese of London. The vicar, at one East-End church, reported that 'Hoxton has risen to the crisis splendidly [...] two hundred [...] have responded to their country's call'.⁵¹ Others saw the officers in the parish scouts and brigade movements leave to join their varied commands. The scoutmaster of the 111th North London Baden-Powell Troop Boy Scouts, associated with the parish of Christ Church West Green Haringey, was 'recalled to his late regiment the Royal Field Artillery (Territorials)'.⁵² At St Saviour Chelsea the parish magazine reported that 'Slade and Blagden', officers of the Chelsea Baden-Powell Scouts, 'have joined the Territorial Force and Weekes has been called out with the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve'.⁵³ At St Stephen Shepherds Bush two officers from the parish London Diocesan Church Lads' Brigade (LDCLB) enlisted: Major Traver with the Civil Service Rifles in the Territorial Force and Mr. Bartlett in the Queen Victoria Rifles, and from the same parish Mr. Wilkinson, a scout officer, joined the Royal Fusiliers.⁵⁴ The immediacy of the response of some cannot be doubted, as evidenced by one of the first casualties of the war, Lt Col. G.

⁴⁹ Douglas, 'Voluntary Enlistment', p. 566; Searle *A New England?*, p. 664.

⁵⁰ Michael MacDonagh, *In London during the Great War: the Diary of a Journalist* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1935), p. 8 & 13: diary entries are for 4 Aug and 6 Aug 1914 (MacDonagh was a journalist on *The Times*).

⁵¹ LMA, P91/COL/131, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep): being a 'September' issue this magazine would report on events that had happened in August.

⁵² LMA, DR030/E1/25, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep).

⁵³ LMA, P74/SAV/103, St Saviour Chelsea, Parish Magazines 1912-18 (Sep 1914).

⁵⁴ LMA, P80/STE/201, St Stephen Shepherds Bush, Parish Magazines 1912-14 (Sep 1914).

H. Hanson who was killed at Antwerp in the opening weeks of the war. Hanson had been a parishioner at St James Paddington, where 'he will long be remembered as a gallant gentleman by members of the Boy's Brigade to whom he devoted practically all his spare time'.⁵⁵ Michael Snape comments that the influence of the brigade movements and in particular the LDCLB in the diocese of London encouraged 'practically every officer eligible and nearly every cadet of seventeen years of age to join the regular forces soon after the declaration of war'.⁵⁶ However certain of the above officers had existing association with the military prior to the outbreak of war; the officer at West Green Christ Church was 'recalled' to his regiment. It should be expected that those with military experience and association would be the first to respond to the outbreak of war and their 'rush to arms' should not be seen as an indication that the nation as a whole was clamouring to follow them into khaki.

The counter argument to the views of Searle and Douglas is stated by Clive Hughes who contends that 'the popular concept of a rush to the colours is inaccurate' and also by Beckett who writes that 'the response to the outbreak of war can be interpreted as less than wholeheartedly enthusiastic'.⁵⁷ David Stevenson argues that this lack of enthusiasm reflected a pre-war 'opposition to Britain's involvement [that] was wide-spread'.⁵⁸

Ferguson sums up this side of the debate in the title to Chapter 7, 'The August Days: The Myth of War Enthusiasm August 1914', of *The Pity of War* in which he states that 'there

⁵⁵ LMA, P87/JSE/62, St James Paddington, Churchwardens' Yearly Records 1911-15 (1914), p. 25.

⁵⁶ Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), p. 162: quoting W. E. Sellers *With Our Fighting Men* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1915), p. 11.

⁵⁷ Clive Hughes, 'The New Armies', in *A Nation in Arms: A Social Study of the British Army in the First World War*, ed. by Ian F. W. Beckett and Keith Simpson (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Select, 2004), pp. 99-125 (p. 103); Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms', p. 7.

⁵⁸ David Stevenson, *1914-1918: The History of the First World War* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004), p. 37.

is a growing body of evidence which qualifies if it does not wholly refute the thesis of mass bellicosity'.⁵⁹ The actuality of the 'rush to the colours' is a litmus test of the militarism within pre-war society as a whole and a short overview of the breakdown of the numbers volunteering is accordingly important in gauging the immediacy and size of the response to the declaration of war.

There is no counter argument to the fact that volunteer levels in the first two months of hostilities were the highest seen during the war with just under five hundred thousand having enlisted by 12 September. However of these slightly more than three hundred thousand enlisted after 30 August.⁶⁰ A breakdown of the August figures also shows an increase in enlistment numbers towards the end of the month:

Date	Number Enlisted
4-8 Aug	8,193
2 nd week Aug	43,354
3 rd week Aug	49,982
Final week Aug	63,000
1 st week Sept	174,901

The inference from the figures is that the concept of immediate 'mass bellicosity' should be questioned, although the initial unpreparedness of the War Office in administering the enlistment process and the rejection of would-be volunteers on the basis of age, height restrictions or general unfitness, might have reduced the initial figures. On 26 August in a parliamentary debate Prime Minister Herbert Asquith declared that 'my noble friend Lord Kitchener needs all the recruits he can obtain' and later that 'we want all the recruits we

⁵⁹ Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, pp. 174-211 (p. 177).

⁶⁰ All figures quoted are from Hew Strachan *The Outbreak of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 203. The actual total by 12 September was 478,893, which was still less than the 500,000 increase approved by parliament on 6 August.

can get'.⁶¹ Neither of these statements supports the concept of a rush to the colours. The initial rush to the colours was therefore reasonably subdued with the higher figures being evidenced towards the end of August and particularly from the first week in September. This was due to a variety of factors, improved War Office organisation being one, but the numbers do imply that the initial readiness to enlist was not as generally endemic as some have argued. Was this initial immediate reaction a reflection of a society in which militarism was paramount and to the fore across its entire social and class divides? Two specific events influenced the increase in volunteer figures during the later weeks of August and the first week in September. During the middle weeks of August reports of German atrocities in Belgium started to appear in the press and by the last week of the month the losses incurred at the Battle of Mons and the retreat by the expeditionary force was being reported.⁶² One other potential influence on volunteering might have been that on 2 September the first white feathers were distributed at Deal in Kent.

The implication, that it needed the catalyst of events to enthuse the volunteer, raises questions concerning the levels of militarism within pre-war English society. However there is no doubt that in certain sectors of society there was immediate support and the inference would be that these were the elements that had been imbued with the military spirit and the trappings of militarism in the years preceding 1914. Ferguson comments

⁶¹ *The Times*, 27 August 1914, p. 7.

⁶² Examples are: Atrocities in Belgium. In the Sunday edition of *The Times*, 16 Aug 1914, p. 3 under the heading 'An English Girl's Diary' there were entries in the diary of Miss Lydia Evans who had been at a Convent School in Belgium. The change in tone as the first week in August passes is very interesting: 3 Aug 'the place full of Germans who were exceedingly polite, they are magnificent.' 6 Aug 'a curate near here has been shot; the Germans are very nice if you give them what they want.' 8 Aug 'we have heard that Berneau is burnt and the women and children hung.' 10 Aug 'the nuns asked the German officers if they would spare the convent, they laughed and said they would make it a cemetery for their dead.' Battle of Mons. *The Times*, 26 Aug 1914, p. 9 'The casualties are rather more than 2000 killed and wounded but considering the numbers engaged the losses are not severe, we have to go back to Inkerman [*Crimean War*] to find a parallel for a loss of over 2000 British troops in a single battle' and 31 Aug 1914 p. 8: Sir John French estimated his losses from the 23rd to the 26th inclusive 'amount to 5000 or 6000 men.'

that 'not all Britons were equally keen to fight', a view reiterated by Searle who states that war fever swept through 'the upper and upper-middle classes' and that the middle classes were 'more likely to end up in uniform than those they considered their social inferiors'.⁶³ An insight into the social breakdown of volunteers during the first eighteen months of the conflict can be gleaned from Beckett's table 'Sectoral Distribution of Enlistment in the British Forces, August 1914 – February 1916', which gives a breakdown of enlistment classified by occupation.⁶⁴

Pre-war militarism was therefore more prevalent in certain sectors of English society. This thesis will analyse whether the Church of England in general and the diocese of London specifically were drawn through common social and educational bonds towards those elements that were more involved in pre-war militarism. The discussion will then be progressed to assess whether this pre-war militarism was propagated by the diocesan hierarchy and was evident throughout the clergy and laity of the parishes within the diocese. Once the war commenced, as evidenced by the New Year messages quoted earlier, many in the Church of England supported the war and 'Winnington-Ingram of London proved an uncritical and influential supporter of the nation's involvement in the conflict'.⁶⁵ Snape argues that the 'links between the Church of England and the Territorial Force in the capital [...] had been assiduously cultivated by the Bishop of London'.⁶⁶ Playne commented on this association of the church with a branch of the military, the lamb with the warrior, as evidenced in August 1914 by 'many clergy, professors, schoolteachers, men about town – all these let it be known that they were

⁶³ Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, p. 199; Searle, *A New England?*, p. 793 & 796.

⁶⁴ Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms', p. 9 Table 1.2.

⁶⁵ John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 128.

⁶⁶ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 164.

consumed with anxiety lest we should not fight'.⁶⁷ In a chapter headed 'The Failure of the Clerics' she accused the clerics, defined as 'the clergy, professions and press' that they 'forsook the pursuit of the glory of God and His righteousness and busied themselves in finding fuel for the great European bonfire'.⁶⁸ As a final indictment of the Church of England in its support for the war and as a major part of the 'blood-lust of the ecclesiasticals' Playne also wrote that 'one thousand London curates of military age presented a petition to the bishop of London asking that permission should be given them by the heads of the established church to serve as combatants'.⁶⁹ It is unclear whether this request was at the start of the war and it does raise various questions. The number of 1000 curates is high for the diocese of London. A review of contemporary *Crockfords* indicates that in the diocese before 1914 the number of curates was invariably less than 500 and curates outside the diocese would not apply to the bishop of London when they would surely approach their own bishop. I can also find no trace of any archival record to support this statement. The impression left is that this is a possible exaggeration on the part of Playne, which is in line with some of the florid language and metaphor in the book; a reflection of the inter-war period when the book was written and her own beliefs. Whilst Snape highlights the relationship between the church in London and the army he also sees this as a more general trend across the country that was honed in the pre-war years, and argues that 'the British churches were key contributors to a popular militarist culture in Edwardian Britain, not least through their quasi-military youth organisations'.⁷⁰ Summers also writes of the relationship between the Church of England and the military

⁶⁷ Playne, *Society at War*, p. 33.

⁶⁸ Playne, *Society at War*, pp. 185-219 (p. 185).

⁶⁹ Playne, *Society at War*, p. 210, 208.

⁷⁰ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 95.

and comments that the 'least equivocal support' for the major organisation in favour of conscription, the National Service League (NSL) 'came from Anglican clergymen'.⁷¹

The debate on the levels of militarism and its support in pre-1914 England is so emotive because, if militarism was a major factor in English society in the Late-Victorian and Edwardian ages, it and its adherents can be held accountable for many of the horrors of the First World War. Without its presence and influence perhaps the nation would not have run helter-skelter into the mud of Flanders and the shell-holes of the Somme.

Militarism is a scapegoat by which cultured civilised England rationalises trench warfare.

By implication therefore if the Church of England, the established church, was considered to be complicit with militarism in the pre-war years, encouraging its clergy and laity along a path that would lead towards the killing fields of the First World War, was not this a sacrilegious conjunction with the warrior. Or as one member of the Church of England Peace League claimed 'a positive marvel of dereliction from the first principles of Christ'?⁷²

However, as Samuel Williamson and Ernest May have commented, few historians have shown any interest in the 'countinghouse and the church' in their deliberations over the events immediately preceding the outbreak of war.⁷³ Their answer to their rhetorical questions: 'What of the period when war was only a possibility? Were there not men of the cloth calling for peace rather than war?' was 'We do not know'.⁷⁴ This thesis will assess this question by investigating the influences that shaped the Church of England

⁷¹ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 116.

⁷² Rev. William Leighton Grane, *The Passing of War: A Study in the Things that Make for Peace* (London: MacMillan & Co Ltd, 1913), preface p. xi.

⁷³ Samuel R. Williamson Jr. and Ernest R. May, 'An Identity of Opinion: Historians and July 1914', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 79 (Jun 2007), 335-387 (p. 341).

⁷⁴ Williamson, 'An Identity of Opinion', p. 341.

and the diocese of London during the pre-war years. The urban environment of London and the response of the church, at both a hierarchical and local parish level, to the changing social, economic and gender challenges inherent within this environment will be discussed. The relationship of the church with the army and the public schools and other sectors of pre-war society that had affinity with the military spirit will then be analysed. The various youth organisations, the Church Lads Brigade (CLB) the Boys Brigade (BB) and the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts (BPBS) and in particular the diocesan specific organisations of the London Diocesan Church Lads Brigade (LDCLB) and the London Diocesan Boy Scouts (LDBS), will be assessed to ascertain support levels and military influences. The reactions and responses of both the clergy and laity in the individual parishes of the diocese will be assessed to ascertain whether cultural militarisation gained spiritual and theological support from the actions and words of both the clerics and the laity within the diocese at episcopal and local parish level. The thesis will also consider whether the response of the clergy was a reflection of the social and demographic constitution of the church and as such merely a conditioned response to hereditary mores and belief-systems that were at least equal to if not more influential than the credo of the Church of England; a pre-conditioned set of responses to given situations that were learnt through family, educational establishments and social surroundings. Or was the response within the diocese prior to August 1914 more a reflection of the 'lamb' as distinct from the warrior? If this was the case was this an actual re-positioning against social norms or just an acknowledgement of indifference in the face of the huge social and economic problems and deprivations faced within the metropolis of London in the quarter of a century prior to 1914? Initially in the next chapter the various influences that

impacted upon the Church of England in the pre-war years will be assessed. These influences were in certain instances similar to those that impacted upon society generally, one instance of these being the invasion fears of the 1900s but others were specific religious concerns. The church's reaction to all these will be discussed.

The majority of source material for the individual parishes within the diocese of London is at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) and consists of registers of services for Easter communicant and attendance records, parish magazines, scrapbooks, Annual Reports and other parish material. A substantial amount of this had been written for publication at the time and as such there is the risk that it would repeat the accepted party line on the youth organisations, attendance levels etc, and not reflect the true position or thoughts of the parish. This caveat should be borne in mind. Winnington-Ingram's two Visitation Returns of 1905 and 1911 are to be found at the Guildhall Library Manuscript (GMS) archive under the title 'Completed Articles of Enquiry'. Earlier Visitation Returns for Winnington-Ingram's predecessors are available at Lambeth Palace Library (LPL). There is a shortage of archival material for Winnington-Ingram at any depository. During the course of the research for this thesis I have written to some of his surviving relatives to see whether they had any of his papers or knew of their whereabouts and whilst they replied they were unable to supply any additional information. The Charles Booth papers held at the London School of Economics archive are more concerned with the social element of only specific areas of the diocese of London and as such add little to the main theme of this thesis; the militarism across the total social range of the diocese.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ There are instances where Parish Magazines are included in the reports of interviews with various of the local clergy, which might include information on brigade activity, but these are not commonplace.

Various publications held at the British Library (BL) were useful and these included the *London Diocesan Magazine*, and the *National Service Journal*, the latter relating to the National Service League (NSL). The same potential reservations as those mentioned above regarding 'publication' are pertinent. The Scout Association Archive was useful and holds records for the LDBS separately from the BPBS. There are however few records on specific parish troops of the LDBS and the 'lists' in this thesis have been collated from references to this organisation in other publications including parish magazines and scrapbooks; as such it is acknowledged that it is incomplete but that the total numbers are close to those publicised at various times. The Church Lads' and Church Girls' Brigade (CLCGB) archive is well documented and extremely useful; it also contains certain records of the LDCLB that give details of individual parish involvement at certain times. However as with the LDBS, substantial information in respect of specific parish brigades has been collated from parish magazines and parish records generally. Information in respect of the overall membership levels of the LDCLB has in certain instances been taken from reports in *The Times*. Details of positions held by the clergy of the Church of England have been taken from various editions of *Crockfords*⁷⁶ and the *Clergy List*⁷⁷ whilst army chaplain details and information in respect of military bases within the diocese of London can be found in the monthly *Army Lists*.⁷⁸

There will be instances, albeit rare, where the existence of a brigade or troop at a specific parish within the diocese of London was not recorded in the extant archival records. However I am satisfied that the time-range and geographical spread of the

⁷⁶ The main *Crockfords* used were; 1891 (23rd edition), 1897 (29th edition), 1900 (32nd edition), 1903 (35th edition), 1904 (36th edition), 1907 (39th edition), 1910 (42nd edition), 1918 (50th edition), 1938 (67th edition)

⁷⁷ Kelly's *Clergy List* used were; 1906 (64th edition), 1915 (73rd edition).

⁷⁸ The four *Army Lists* used were; March 1891, December 1901, January 1910, August 1914.

parochial sources ensures that the assessments based upon the available material are not biased by over-reliance on one type of socio-economic environment nor to a restrictive, narrow time-frame. As such the source material gives a basis upon which to assess the development and support of any militarism and military spirit within the late-Victorian and Edwardian diocese of London.

CHAPTER 2

‘The Christian Armour is for Everyman’: Chivalry, Masculinity and the Lamb of God¹

This chapter will discuss the various influences and elements that impacted upon the Church of England in its relationship with the militarism prevalent within sectors of society in pre-war England. Whilst there is interdependence and inter-reaction between many of these influences and sub-texts that weave a common thread, for clarity they are discussed separately, with similar themes being highlighted. These influences can be categorised into: historical, theological, social, gender, and political. These categories are apparent throughout the timeframe covered by this thesis but their specific levels of influence and relevance change dependent upon the socio-cultural and political environment of the period.

This chapter will initially look at the historical inter-relationship between the church and the military, both of which are hierarchical organisations and enclaves of traditional power and a structured social order. The theological view of war as a ‘purifying and cleansing’ event that was considered ‘beneficial to [a] decadent and lethargic’ society

¹ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Joy in God* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co Ltd, 1909), p. 245: taken from one of the Lenten Mission Addresses to Men Only.

will then be discussed.² The concept of the chivalrous crusade will be analysed with its attendant sanctification of the warrior and the glorification of self-sacrifice within an eschatological environment. War as a 'gender specific event' will then be discussed.³ It was seen as an event in which the warrior was able to reaffirm his manhood as a reaction to what Nancy Ellenberger describes as the 'anxieties about male self-presentation and performance that marked the great societal shifts of the late nineteenth century'.⁴ This secular gender concern which George Mosse considers to be an attack upon a 'normative masculinity', will be discussed within the concept of a church that had undergone its own gender shift which Callum Brown considers had resulted in the essence of piety within religion being 'an overwhelmingly feminine trait which challenged masculinity and left men demonised and constantly anxious'.⁵ These various and varying factors will then be placed within the context of the growing political uncertainty during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening decade of the new century. Changing international balances came into play, and historic and new threats were perceived in a world and a society that appeared to be in a constant state of flux. As an antidote to these military and masculine influences the chapter will end with an overview of the various peace and pacifist initiatives prevalent within the church in the pre-war years, an assessment of those elements within the church that considered the true message was from the Lamb of God and not from the warrior.

² Glenn R. Wilkinson, 'The Blessing of War': The Depiction of Military Force in Edwardian Newspapers', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 33 No. 1 (Jan 1998), 97-115 (p. 98).

³ Wilkinson, 'The Blessing of War', p. 113.

⁴ Nancy W. Ellenberger, 'Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-de-Siècle England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 39 No. 4 (Oct 2000), 487-517 (p. 517).

⁵ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 77-79; Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), p. 9.

The church, particularly the established church of a country, and the army were both 'serving order through the power of discipline and through hierarchical arrangement'.⁶ Both were traditional in structure and outlook and Samuel Hynes highlights the 'implied analogy between the established church and certain powerful conservative groups'.⁷ This analogy and association was not restricted to the upper echelons of the organisations and there were, within the diocese of London, commemorations and totems of this inter-relationship at a more prosaic level within the local parishes. Upon moving their headquarters in 1890 the officers of the Whittington Company East London Volunteer Corps placed upon record that they wished 'to express their thanks to the Rev. H. Henman (Vicar St Mary) to whom they are much indebted for allowing them to establish their Head Quarters in his school rooms'.⁸ Christ Church Hoxton, another East End parish, had retained links with the Tower Hamlet Rifle Volunteers since their formation in 1860; in 1874 their name was changed to the North East London Rifles, and subsequently in 1903 to the 4th (City of London) Volunteers Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers Regiment. As a mark of this association the battalion colours were deposited in the church in 1904 and the connection was continued in 1908, when the battalion became part of the Territorial Force.⁹

In the next chapter the challenges faced by the church in the stressed urban areas of pre-war London will be discussed in detail. The church had failed to deal with the issues faced within the industrial environment and as the nineteenth century ended Winnington-

⁶ Vagts, *A History of Militarism*, p. 18: quoting H. Von Srbik, *Metterich der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (1925), p. 385.

⁷ Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 10.

⁸ BL, Whittington Company East London Volunteer Corps (1st Tower Hamlets Volunteers), *Annual Report 1890*: the Rev. Henry Henman was also vicar at St George-in-the-East.

⁹ LMA, P91/CTC/43, Christ Church Hoxton, Notes on the link with the Royal Fusiliers Regiment (this is a hand written note).

Ingram could declaim that 'it is not that the church of God has lost the great Towns; it has never had them'.¹⁰ In such circumstances of inner-soul searching the army, through its traditions and formalised officer structure, provided an aspirational template for a traditional order that reflected the older relationships of the agrarian society in which the church had a place at the 'high table.' This 'older order' was an antidote to the canker of the new urban environment within which the Church appeared to have no accepted place or role. As such the army offered the refuge of an established social order that was gender exclusive, that seemed impervious to the changes taking place elsewhere in various sectors of society and within which the Church of England could 're-encode a divinely ordained social order'.¹¹ The army therefore gave sustenance and support through its hierarchical conservatism to the Church that considered it had failed to establish a meaningful presence in the changing urban environment.

However there was a dichotomy for the church inherent within its relationship with and dependence upon the military; was there a basic antithesis between the Lamb of God and the warrior? This dichotomy was at the heart of the comment made by Rev. Finlay Mons Finlay Green, vicar of St Mark Tollington Park in 1914 when he declared that 'war is a terrible thing [...] a devilish thing, it is the negation of every principle of Christianity [...] yet [...] war may be a necessary thing'.¹² This acknowledgement of opposites was also apparent in the comments of Rev E. George Wade, vicar at St James Paddington, who believed that the Church had to ensure that 'the nation at war is also the nation at

¹⁰ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Work in Great Cities* (London: Gardner Darton & Co, 1897), p. 22.

¹¹ Sue Morgan, 'Writing the Male Body': Sexual Purity and Masculinity in *The Vanguard* 1884-94', in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock and others (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Limited, 2000), pp. 179-193 (p. 180).

¹² LMA, P83/MRK/154, St Mark Tollington Park Islington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep).

prayer' because 'war is the devil.'¹³ For some the dichotomy did not exist. For them the use of force, the right to take up arms was codified and sanctioned in Article Twenty-Seven of the Church of England which stated that 'it is lawful for Christian men at the commandment of the magistrate to wear weapons and serve in wars.' There was a longstanding association between the Church of England and the waging of wars. J. A. Mangan quotes Summers who describes militarism as being 'integral to much of Anglican and Non-Conformist Christianity'.¹⁴ At the Church Congress of 1900, the Right Rev Brooke Westcott, Bishop of Durham, felt able to speak for most of the attendees when he said that 'all or most of them would admit that war was not irreconcilable with Christianity'.¹⁵ During the subsequent discussion, Rev Thomas Banks Strong, who was Westcott's chaplain, argued that war was justified 'where it was aimed at the redress of deep injustice' and that such wars 'were a blurred image on earth of the war in heaven'.¹⁶ The same year one of the Intercessions specifically written for the Boer War speaks of God permitting nations to wage war so that they could use 'their swords for Thy judgements'.¹⁷

The language of warfare was also prevalent within the Church and its growing and specific use in the public schools will be discussed in chapter 4. Within the Church generally Alan Wilkinson writes of 'the imagery of the Christian life as one of warfare'

¹³ LMA, P87/JS/62, St James Paddington, Churchwardens' Yearly Records 1911-15 (1914).

¹⁴ J. A. Mangan, 'Introduction to the New Edition', in *Athleticism in the Victorian & Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*, by J. A. Mangan, 2nd edn (London: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. XXVII-LVI (p. XL); Summers in 'Militarism in Britain', p. 105.

¹⁵ *The Times*, 27 Sep 1900, p. 7, the Church Congress was discussing 'War: Attitude and Duties of the Church'.

¹⁶ *The Times*, 27 Sep 1900, p. 7, the Church Congress was discussing 'War: Attitude and Duties of the Church'.

¹⁷ LMA, P76/PET1/30, St Peter Clerkenwell, 'A Form of Intercession with Almighty God on Behalf of Her Majesty's Naval and Military Forces now in South Africa' dated 1900. The Intercession is on p. 19 and reads 'O Lord God of Hosts, by Whose permission nation riseth against nation, who usest their swords for Thy judgements.'

and that this 'was universally diffused through well-known hymns and memories of baptismal promises'.¹⁸ Hugh McLeod argues that the growth in military imagery in hymns in the second half of the nineteenth century was a sign of the 'growing acceptance of the armed forces as legitimate fields of Christian service' and assisted in providing 'a Christian legitimisation for military activity'.¹⁹ J. R. Watson argues that whilst historically the church had encompassed the 'belligerent metrical psalms of the Reformation' in the nineteenth century there was a move away from the 'defensive' Pauline theology to a more aggressive military stance.²⁰ Such a change in emphasis would negate the shield of St Paul and bring to the fore the raised sword of St Michael and the lance of St George. The masculine imagery inherent in that change will be discussed later in this chapter. The imagery of warfare was also used to describe daily activities and Wolffe writes that the 'language of warfare was associated with the individual's commitment to Christ'.²¹ This was well illustrated by one country parson who referred to parish visiting as going 'on campaigns or raids', with the Book of Common Prayer being 'my soldier's drill book,' and his communicants as 'these rustic soldiers of Christ'.²² In 1908 in a sermon at St Paul Haringey, the Rev. Ralph Charlewood Turner referred to Christ as the 'Crowned Warrior', the 'great captain of our salvation'.²³ Four years later the Rev. Walter Ewart

¹⁸ Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 12.

¹⁹ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1996), p. 153.

²⁰ J. R. Watson, 'Soldiers and Saints: The Fighting Man and the Christian Life', in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock and others (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 10-26 (p. 14, 15).

²¹ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 213.

²² Rev. John Huntley Skrine, *Pastor Ovium: The Day-Book of a Country Parson* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1910), p. 67 & 201: Skrine was associated with the NSL and is quoted in Summers' 'Militarism in Britain' p. 120, he is also discussed in chapter 4 with reference to the *Public School Hymn Book*.

²³ LMA, DRO53/273, St Paul Haringey, Parish Magazines 1900-19 (Jul 1908): sermon on 31 May 1908 entitled 'The Vision of the Crowned Warrior': it is from this sermon that the quote contained in the title of this thesis was taken.

Bristow an army chaplain described God as the 'Great Commander, whose barrack square is the whole wide world' and 'God grant that we may [...] be found within the ranks of his warriors'.²⁴ God was not therefore inherently opposed to war but in certain instances considered it appropriate, and to be used as a lesson for mankind. In 1899 in a leader on the war in South Africa headed 'The Blessing of War' the *Church Times* commented that 'Our Lord Himself declared that He came not to send peace but a sword'.²⁵ God therefore could instigate war; a theme taken up after the declaration of war in 1914 by the vicar of St Andrew West Kensington who wrote in his monthly letter that 'truly He is speaking to the world in terrible tones'.²⁶

War was therefore seen by some as part and parcel of Christianity, inherent within the fabric of the religion, with earthly wars merely mirroring heavenly combat. There was of course the final conflict to come: Armageddon, the ultimate war.²⁷ Winnington-Ingram spoke of a 'day of God' a time when the final 'hour has struck' and the vicar of St Andrew Stoke Newington wrote that 'this world wide war is a veritable coming of Christ [...] times of judgement'.²⁸ The implication was that a final battle would have to be fought to bring the time of the Lord to fruition and as such war itself could not be inherently evil but could be an enlightening, invigorating and literally a soul-saving event. Similar views had been apparent during the Boer War when Mandell Creighton,

²⁴ Rev. W. E. Bristow, *The Call of the Bugle* (London: SPCK, 1912), p. 127: prior to this book Bristow had written *Banners of the Barrack Room* (London: SPCK, 1908).

²⁵ *Church Times*, 1 Dec 1899, p. 640.

²⁶ LMA, P77/AND/123/17-20, St Andrew West Kensington, Parish Magazines 1911-14 (Aug 1914).

²⁷ Soon after war was declared the Dean of Norwich, Rev. Henry Charles Beeching, gave a sermon entitled 'Armageddon – A Sermon Upon the War' at Norwich Cathedral in which he described the war as 'a war against war', the ultimate and by inference of the title the final 'just war'. The sermon was printed and published by the SPCK in 1914.

²⁸ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *A Day of God: Being Five Addresses on the Subject of the Present War* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co Ltd, 1914), p. 2: Sermon preached in St Paul's on 9 Aug 1914; LMA, P94/AND/205, St Andrew Stoke Newington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Aug/Sep combined).

Bishop of London considered that the war 'had recalled us to the source of all our strength which in the day of prosperity we had forgotten'.²⁹ The Church Congress of 1900 endorsed these sentiments and considered that war would be the catalyst to arouse society from 'the luxurious enjoyments of peace and from petty and selfish interests to sacrifices and self-denial for a common cause'.³⁰ Therefore war gave the potential to refashion and re-hone both personal and national spirituality and an opportunity to re-find an inner strength, to which society was not called, but 'recalled'. This opportunity to be the 'soul of this new England' had been envisaged in 1912 by one clergyman who asked 'may we dare to hope that this is the destiny that lies before the Church of England?'.³¹

Late-Victorian and in particular pre-war twentieth-century England was in the eyes of many in need of cleansing and purifying. Society had lost its way, in part due to 'the spirit of materialism which has invaded national and social life,' and this loss was caused in many instances by the very environment in which people lived.³² The urban environment left many people 'bewildered and upset by the 'moral pluralisms' of life in the large conurbations' and created 'a certain nostalgia for an earlier and simpler age'.³³ The old traditional order was seen as an antidote to these pluralisms that complicated urban life and would recreate a 'static world, where the values appeared stable and where the meanings of abstractions seemed permanent and reliable'.³⁴ Such a society based on traditional values would be one where bewilderment would be assuaged. The hankering

²⁹ *Church Times*, 9 Mar 1900, p. 264: reporting on a sermon given by Creighton.

³⁰ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p. 11: quoted from the Church Congress 1900.

³¹ Rev. J. Howard B. Masterman, *The Church of England* (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1912), p. 93.

³² LMA, DRO53/273, St Paul Haringay, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Feb 1900): quoted from a letter from the episcopacy concerning a resolution passed at the November 1899 Lambeth Conference.

³³ G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought 1899-1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 99; also see, Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp. 18-30.

³⁴ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 21.

after a past golden age reflected a yearning for the 'lost values of the English yeoman', that was part of the pastoral movement prevalent in pre-war England.³⁵ One element within society which 'experienced a significant level of discomfort with modern industrial society' was the conscription movement and the NSL which considered that 'urbanism and industrialism were symbols of all that was wrong with Edwardian society'.³⁶ This view by the NSL was not unsurprising bearing in mind the demographics of the membership that will be discussed in chapter 4; but a more practical reason for the NSL supporting a return to a more agrarian society was the need for a 'supply of farm lads as recruits'.³⁷

The very nature and feel of the industrial conglomeration, the constant presence of people who shared this urban space, led to what Lucy Delap describes as the 'massification of modern life'.³⁸ By the beginning of the twentieth century the 'notion of the crowd as the inevitable scene of degeneration', was widely held; a crowd, which inhabited 'a world of dangerous instincts'.³⁹ The crowd harboured elements that would destroy society. In the early 1890s, Frederick W. Farrar, Archdeacon of Westminster warned that the 'Huns and Vandals who shall shipwreck our civilization are being bred

³⁵ Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England from 1880 to 1914* (London: Quartet Books Ltd, 1982), p. 4.

³⁶ Matthew Hendley, 'Help Us to Secure a Strong, Healthy, Prosperous and Peaceful Britain: The Social Arguments of the Campaign for Compulsory Military Service in Britain 1899-1914', *Canadian Journal of History*, No. 30 (Aug 1995), 261-288 (p. 280); Lord Roberts, president of the NSL, when proposing rifle clubs also looked back to a golden age when he 'evoked the glorious victories of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt.' (p. 281).

³⁷ C. W. Sorenson, 'Back to the Land', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 81 (Jan-Jun 1902), 61-68 (p. 61).

³⁸ Lucy Delap, 'The Superwoman: Theories of Gender and Genius in Edwardian Britain', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 47 No. 1 (2004), 101-126 (p. 112).

³⁹ Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder c1848-c1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 203, 223: in 1886 the *Spectator* had published an article titled 'Fear of Mobs' which had stated that 'the dread of mobs is not born of terror only but is more or less substantially true.' (p. 219, 222).

[...] not in the Steppes of Asia but in the slums of great cities'.⁴⁰ Later that decade Winnington-Ingram in an address at the divinity school in Cambridge and therefore to an audience far removed from the urban environment, referred to cities as 'these monster growths of modern times'.⁴¹ The urban environment was also seen to be the cause of the failure of humanity to undertake its most basic function, that of reproduction, with certain elements believing in 'town-induced infertility'.⁴²

Materialism was definitely not infertile in the urban environment and prospered to a degree that concerned many as it brought indifference to spiritual matters. In 1900 the parish of St Andrew Bethnal Green in its visitation return referred to the 'indifference of vast majority' and to stress the 'indifference' placed in parenthesis the words 'not antagonism': the neighbouring parish of St Jude Bethnal Green held similar views referring to 'slackness and indifference'.⁴³ In his Ash Wednesday address of 1905, given at Holy Trinity Sloane Street, Winnington-Ingram spoke of the 'prevailing unbelief and luxury in large portions of London society'.⁴⁴ Similar sentiments were expressed within the 1905 Completed Articles of Enquiry from a range of parishes in the diocese. St Leonard Shoreditch commented on the 'bleak indifference of the majority of the parishioners to anything spiritual,' and St Saviour Highbury wrote of the difficulties caused by the 'spirit of the ages,' whilst the parish of Great Stanmore summed up the problems the church encountered with the wealthier of the parish in the one word

⁴⁰ Rev. Frederick W. Farrar, *Social and Present Day Questions* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1891), p. 33.

⁴¹ Winnington-Ingram, *Work in Great Cities*, p. 3.

⁴² Richard Soloway, 'Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Deterioration in Edwardian England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17 No. 1 (Jan 1982), 137-164 (p. 156).

⁴³ Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Fulham Papers, Creighton Visitation Returns 1/173, 1/179.

⁴⁴ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *The Bishop of London's Lenten Mission: A Series of Addresses Delivered in Various London Churches During Lent, 1905* (London: SPCK, 1905), p. 6.

‘materialism’.⁴⁵ St John Westminster used the same short-form denunciation and St Gabriel Willesden Green mirrored this mono-syllabic response with ‘worldliness’.⁴⁶ The incumbent of Holy Trinity Paddington commented on the desire for ‘parties and pleasure seeking,’ whilst his colleague at All Souls Langham Place referred more dramatically to an ‘atmosphere of carnality and pleasure worshipping’.⁴⁷ Similar views were expressed by the incumbents at St Gabriel Pimlico who commented on a general ‘love of amusement’ and at St John Brownswood Park who wrote of a ‘love of pleasure’.⁴⁸ In his New Year’s Address of 1909 Rev George Edmundson, vicar at St Saviour Kensington commented that ‘a rude awakening is sure to come, better perhaps would it be for our own country’s moral good, if it came sooner than later’.⁴⁹ By 1914 England was described by Rev. William Alfred Smith, vicar at St Paul Canonbury, as having ‘selfish extravagant pleasure loving habits’ and during the same period in one of his sermons Winnington-Ingram commented that ‘it is disheartening in West London to see the number of balls and dances arranged for Lent’.⁵⁰ Later, Playne commented upon the ‘combative disordered spirit,’ of the pre-war era and Percy Colson in his 1930s biography of Winnington-Ingram saw the same period as one in which ‘materialism reigned supreme’.⁵¹

In order to combat this malaise and the love of materialism within society there was considered to be a need for a rejuvenation of the spirit within the nation, and by the

⁴⁵ Guildhall Manuscripts (GMS), 17885, x-1; viii-37; xxvi-13.

⁴⁶ GMS, 17885, xxv-6; xxvi-22.

⁴⁷ GMS, 17885, xxi-7; xxii-7.

⁴⁸ GMS, 17885, xxv-37; vi-35.

⁴⁹ LMA, P74/SAV/102, St Saviour Kensington, Parish Magazines 1906-11 (Jan 1909).

⁵⁰ LMA, P83/PAU/68, St Paul Canonbury, Annual Reports 1911-18 (1913-14); A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *The Eyes of Flame*, (London: Wells, Gardner Garton & Co, 1914), p. 134.

⁵¹ Playne, *Society at War*, p. 14; Percy Colson, *A Life of the Bishop of London: An Authorised Biography; A Tribute on His Jubilee, 1885-1935* (London: Jarrolds, 1935), p. 126.

beginning of 1914 both press and church were called upon to 'inspire and incarnate'.⁵²

Some saw the events of August 1914 as the required re-energising spirit. Upon the outbreak of war the vicar at St Alban Acton Green wrote that the 'spirit of the British People is roused as it has never been roused before'.⁵³ Similar sentiments were written by a correspondent in the *New Statesman* who described the evening of 4th August in Holland Park as an event when he saw 'narrow-minded, sparrow-minded humanity suddenly discover how inspiring it is after all to be in touch with everybody'.⁵⁴

Winnington-Ingram saw the events of August 1914 as the answer to his rhetorically posed question 'has there not crept a softness over the nation, a passion for amusement a love of luxury?'.⁵⁵

The vicar at St Augustine Highbury who had declared in his January 1914 monthly letter that 'there is a sad decadence and want of life [...] decadent days', was able in his first letter following the outbreak of hostilities to comment that the war was 'turning people away from the luxuries and follies of life'.⁵⁶ The September 1914 issues of parish magazines, the first to be able to reflect upon the events of early August, included references to similar themes. In a letter headed 'Great War' one vicar of a west London parish saw the war as 'at any rate a call, in an age that was getting frivolous, to real *seriousness*'.⁵⁷ The vicar at St John Pemberton Grove Islington felt that God 'will teach

⁵² W. G. Knox (Maj Gen), '1914 – The Sword of Peace', *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 75, No. 493 (Jan 1914), 62-77 (p. 68).

⁵³ LMA, DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton Green, Parish Magazines 1910-1915 (Aug 1914).

⁵⁴ *New Statesman*, 8 Aug 1914, Vol. 111 No. 70, pp. 564-5 'August the Fourth' by Desmond MacCarthy

⁵⁵ Winnington-Ingram, 'A Day of God', p. 6: this is a theme returned to in the special Intercessions sanctioned by Winnington-Ingram for use during the war in the Diocese of London in which Intercession No. 3 includes the following wording 'shamefully have we given way to an ungodly love of excitement, luxury and pleasure' (copy held at LMA, P88/ALL1/206, All Saints Poplar, Tower Hamlets, Miscellaneous Papers 1909-14).

⁵⁶ LMA, P83/AUG/132, St Augustine, Highbury, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan & Sep).

⁵⁷ LMA, P77/ALB/074, St Albans, Fulham, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep): emphasis in the original.

our nation that it is not enough to live for pleasure [...] the Nation shall emerge purified and ennobled in aim and ideal,' whilst another at a Paddington parish saw the war as a direction from God to the 'nation, to consider our ways and to repent'.⁵⁸ These were not new themes. Similar ideas had been expressed by Rev L. C. Walford, vicar at St Saviour Kensington, in 1900 when referring to the Boer War. He hoped 'that this terrible war [...] will check the spirit of proud boasting which perhaps has been too rife amongst us'.⁵⁹ During the same conflict the incumbent at St John South Hackney considered that 'all ranks of the nation have been brought more closely together'.⁶⁰ In 1914 one vicar expressed caution and hoped that 'those who prayed for a Day of the Lord' did not find that the day 'might prove to be darkness and not light'; but this caution was not common among the diocesan clergy.⁶¹

Not only was the war seen as an opportunity to solve urban society's ills, but it was also considered as a means by which the traditional male attributes of chivalry and ultimate sacrifice could be restated and reinforced by this gender-specific event. It was a chance to re-forge manhood within the concept of the chivalrous warrior of Christ, to re-establish the 'medieval subtexts of chivalry and sacrifice'.⁶² Winnington-Ingram preached that 'the hour has struck and the supreme test of the manhood of the British race has arrived [...] the old spirit is here just the same but it needed a purifying cleansing draught to bring it back to its old strength and purity again'.⁶³ The chivalrous man with his 'belief in the importance of duty, truth to self and ultimately self-sacrifice' had stood

⁵⁸ LMA, P83/JNE/720, St John the Evangelist, Pemberton Grove Islington Upper Holloway, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep); P87/MAA/38, St Michael Paddington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep).

⁵⁹ LMA, P74/SAV/101, St Saviour Kensington, Parish Magazines 1897-1905 (Jan 1900).

⁶⁰ LMA, P79/JNJ/405, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1900 (Jan).

⁶¹ LMA, P84/PET1/129, St Peter Cranley Gardens Kensington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep).

⁶² Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 1

⁶³ Winnington-Ingram, *A Day of God*, p. 2 & 7.

ready to meet the supreme test in a re-affirmation of self and manhood.⁶⁴ This was the opportunity to re-acquire the mantle of manhood in the most challenging, and potentially eschatological, arena; that of war.

Chivalry had grown in popularity during the pre-war period and this was in part due to, not only its re-iteration of a previous 'golden' age, but also to its gender specific themes. It was a counterweight against the increasingly confusing gendered urban space. Frantzen describes chivalry as a code for 'examining and evaluating masculine conduct in competitive contexts'; an opportunity to *re-examine* and *re-evaluate* traditional roles and values.⁶⁵ In this, the competitive context was not solely man against man but also manliness and masculinity against the feminisation of society and of the home. The destabilisation of the masculine norm had commenced in the latter half of the nineteenth century as 'the generation which grew up after 1860 displayed an insecurity in their masculine identities'.⁶⁶ This insecurity continued and by the late nineteenth century there were many areas within urban society and domestically in which the historically dominant male position was under attack. In the wealthier districts the day to day running of homes, and the overseeing of servants, had become the domain of the woman, often due to the absence of the husband at work. The male position in the new suburbs fared no better with James Hammerton referring to suburban life 'as a sight of degraded domesticity that inverted the natural gender hierarchy'.⁶⁷ John Tosh sees domesticity as one of the major influences of the Victorian age and considers that by the turn of the

⁶⁴ Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 127.

⁶⁵ Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 3.

⁶⁶ Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd, 1997), p. 19.

⁶⁷ A. James Hammerton, 'Pooterism or Partnership?: Marriage and Masculine Identity in the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1920', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 38 (Jul 1999), 291-321 (p. 303).

century middle class masculinity had started a 'flight from domesticity'.⁶⁸ In the poorer areas the income of the wife, and in many instances children, was as important as that of the casually employed husband. Women themselves, with the development of office work, were becoming a greater force in the workplace, and there was an increasingly confident and vocal women's movement in both the labour and suffrage movements. The questions of manhood and masculinity therefore spanned the social classes. Causes ranged from the increasing openness of gay male society, the publicity given to high profile divorce cases and the quickening pace of change in science and technology. These, together with the increased presence of bureaucracy through to the changes in the labour market and the growth in seasonal employment, impacted upon the ability of the male to undertake his traditional role as provider to the home.

As with other social groupings the clergy of the Church of England were subject to these influences but in addition faced specific questioning of their masculinity that highlighted the 'unstable' nature of 'Christian male selfhood' caused in part by a 'partial but pronounced feminization of Christian values'.⁶⁹ This view is developed by Callum Brown, who sees the feminization of piety as leaving 'masculinity as the antithesis of religiosity' and making the male more susceptible 'to masculine temptations' which posed a threat both to the family unit and to a pious society.⁷⁰ In order to counter this, Surridge argues that the Church of England 'boldly asserted its manliness'.⁷¹ This was not just an exercise in gender politics it was part of a practical attempt to encourage men,

⁶⁸ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 170-194.

⁶⁹ Sean Gill, 'Ecce Homo: Representations of Christ as the Model of Masculinity in Victorian Art and Lives of Jesus', in *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. by Andrew Bradstock and others (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 164-178 (p. 166).

⁷⁰ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 88.

⁷¹ Surridge, 'More than a Great Poster', p. 306.

of all social classes, to become part of the Church. Accordingly the next chapter will discuss the lack of male involvement within the parishes of the diocese of London. However Tosh considers that such attempts by the Church of England or other religious organisations were unsuccessful, that there was no relationship between manliness and the Churches and 'it would be quite wrong to suppose a convergence between bourgeois manliness and the evangelical attempt to establish Jesus Christ as a manly exemplar; manliness was essentially a secular standard'.⁷² Tosh's view mirrors that of Mangan and James Walvin who argue that by the late-Victorian period manliness had become 'gradually divorced [...] from religion'.⁷³ However whilst it may be true that the churches were not a major influence within the masculine movement of the time this does not necessarily mean that there was a lack of effort on their part to be involved and to re-establish their presence within the new masculine codes. Failure to achieve an objective in no way should deter from acknowledging the effort made in the attempt. Norman Vance comments that 'it was inevitable that manliness and Christianity should be sometimes uneasy together'; the 'secular hero is captain of his fate and master of his soul' whilst 'sooner or later the Christian hero must acknowledge Christ as captain and master'.⁷⁴ However by the utilisation of the Christ figure, the Son of Man as the personification of manliness and chivalric sacrifice, religion sought to overcome the inherent dichotomy between the two concepts. The declaration that Christ, 'the Son of Man is always manly' was an affirmation that within the church there was a spiritual

⁷² John Tosh, 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain 1800-1914', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44 (Apr 2005), 330-342 (p. 335).

⁷³ J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 'Introduction', in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan & James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 1-6 (p. 4).

⁷⁴ Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 7.

embodiment of those attributes that would re-establish the position of man.⁷⁵ By emphasising the manhood of Christ the church was able to offer guidance to the emasculated male through a role model within whom the chivalric values of duty and ultimate self-sacrifice were evident for all to see; a religious counterbalance to Nietzsche's superman.

In 1895 Winnington-Ingram in a sermon on 'Christian Brotherhood' described this personification of manhood when he depicted Christ as He who 'stands on the crest of the ages and looks up and down time'.⁷⁶ Described in these words Christ is a watchman on high overseeing the whole world through the eons of time; an embodiment and encapsulation of the Christian 'superman.' In the years preceding 1914 Winnington-Ingram would revert to the theme of the 'stand' on various occasions. It was one of the major narratives within the late-Victorian and Edwardian Church of England and encompassed many attributes of the church's attempts to assert or re-assert its relevance to the new masculinity. This narrative had physical, religious, military, chivalrous, sacrificial, sexual and gender subtexts. The word 'stand' has an intrinsic meaning within the Christian world and Watson's comments give an excellent background to its Christian heritage through Ephesians 6, Milton's *Paradise Regained*, and Bunyan's Mr Standfast in *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁷⁷ In 1895 in an address to clergy, Winnington-Ingram described the watchmen in terms reminiscent of Christ standing 'on the crest of the ages' as those who 'stand out against the sky'.⁷⁸ Watchmen, who incorporate a willingness to stand out from the crowd, both in a religious sense and also in a military manner and act as a

⁷⁵ *The Brigade*, Vol. 2, May 1895: Article 'On Manliness' by Rev Cecil H. Martin, p. 37.

⁷⁶ *Church Times*, 1 Mar 1895, p. 243: sermon at Hereford Cathedral on 21 Feb 1895.

⁷⁷ Watson, 'Soldiers and Saints', pp. 10-26, (in particular pp 11-12).

⁷⁸ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, 'Watchmen' in *Messengers, Watchmen and Stewards* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co Ltd, 1896), pp. 29-45 (p. 33): sermon delivered at Loughton Sept 1895.

defender against the threatened attack. By 1904 he specifically linked the notion of manhood with the crucifixion of Christ when he referred to them that ‘beneath the cross of Jesus [...] take their stand’.⁷⁹ In his Lenten Mission of 1909 at St John Ealing he stated that in prayer ‘you each stand clear to His eye’ and at St Saviour Ealing he reminded the congregation that ‘there standeth to-night amongst us One Whom we see not,’ and in an address to men only at All Saints Acton his declaration was to ‘stand firm, whatever happens’.⁸⁰ The following year, 1910, in his Mission Address at St Paul’s Cathedral on Easter Day he acclaimed that ‘we stand on Easter Day on a glorious peak’: words reminiscent of Christ standing on ‘the crest of the ages’.⁸¹ In 1913 this theme was highlighted to a male audience in an address to the businessmen of the City of London at the Guildhall, when he asked that ‘let us stand by one another in a real sense of chivalry and honour’.⁸² In the following year, 1914, prior to August, at an address to clergy he described standing before the ‘eyes of flame’ and that ‘they see the real man’ and ‘I stand before the Son of Man’.⁸³

The stand therefore was an affirmation of being a man and a willingness to profess one’s manhood to the world; to be present at the cross and chivalrously to stand with others doing one’s duty. However if the stand was not made then there was the opportunity that ‘the enemy has crept over the wall at the place where the watchmen failed’.⁸⁴ If the watchmen failed, the manhood encapsulated by Christ as he stood on the

⁷⁹ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Faith of Church and Nation* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co Ltd, 1904), p. 208: sermon given at St James Moore Park Fulham 2 Oct 1904.

⁸⁰ Winnington-Ingram, *Joy in God*, p. 11, 29 & 203.

⁸¹ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *The Mysteries of God* (London: Wells, Gardner Darton & Co Ltd, 1910), p. 226.

⁸² A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *The Attractiveness of Goodness* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co Ltd), p. 163.

⁸³ Winnington-Ingram, *The Eyes of Flame*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Winnington-Ingram, *Messengers, Watchmen and Stewards*, p. 35.

crest of the ages, would not be achieved. On 9 August 1914 in his sermon 'Drinking the Cup' given at St Paul's, Winnington-Ingram commented on this antithesis of 'stand' when he remarked on the softness that 'has *crept*' [...] over the nation'.⁸⁵ In an earlier 1914 address to clergy, Winnington-Ingram had used the word 'crept' to describe being separated from Christ by something that 'has crept into a man's life'.⁸⁶ The word 'crept' would be substituted by 'slouches' in Yeats's rough beast that 'slouches towards Bethlehem' in *The Second Coming* written in 1919. It is also reminiscent of the slithering sinuous snake responsible for man's initial fall from Eden. This 'fall from grace' and resultant separation created duplicity and falsehood that could only be overcome by the man who would stand with Christ. Winnington-Ingram described this man in a sermon preached in 1904 titled 'The Value of a Man', as '*a covert from the tempest*' who was to combat the 'rough wind of temptation [...] which is blowing down day by day on the boys and girls of London' who needed 'some place they can creep under'.⁸⁷ The true man of Christ stands and protects those who through circumstance and overwhelmed by temptation can only creep; he is the watchman on high protecting and giving relief to the weak. Through standing erect and giving protection he completes his flight from domesticity and regains his real manhood.

On 6 January 1912 Winnington-Ingram preached at the consecration of Khartoum Cathedral and incorporated within this address many of the subtexts within the word 'stand' and the concept of the watchman. Preaching about General Gordon's⁸⁸ death in an

⁸⁵ Winnington-Ingram, 'Drinking the Cup' in *A Day of God*, p. 6 (the emphasis is mine); this quote was used earlier in this chapter in the discussion on materialism in pre-war society but now its gender implications are highlighted.

⁸⁶ Winnington-Ingram, *The Eyes of Flame*, p. 24.

⁸⁷ Winnington-Ingram, *Faith of Church and Nation*, p. 203; emphasis in the original.

⁸⁸ Gordon was killed in 1885 after being besieged at Khartoum for 10 months by the Mahdi's troops; two days after his death the relief force arrived. He was one of the hero figures of the period, and after his death

address entitled 'Self-sacrifice unto Death' he stated that 'we see nothing today, we need see nothing but the calm figure in the white uniform standing quite undismayed at the top of the steps in the palace, awaiting the last rush of the victorious enemy' and by this action Winnington-Ingram believed that Gordon achieved a 'real losing of self to find self'.⁸⁹ Gordon was a 'hallowed figure' held in high regard both from a military and a religious viewpoint and an analysis of the sermon highlighted several of the sub-narratives and themes of 'stand'.⁹⁰ The title embodied the concept of self-sacrifice which would lead to a fuller understanding of self, the inference being that only through this culmination of the chivalric ideal would a man truly find himself. The military influence was apparent in the white uniform being worn by Gordon. Like the 'watchmen' he was waiting for the attack. The word 'standing' was used, but it was not merely descriptive. Gordon may indeed have been standing at the top of the steps but its truer meanings in this context were those of the man and soldier, chivalrous to the end, embodying spiritual masculinity and Gill's *Ecce Homo*.

Throughout the period under discussion the gender sub-text of 'stand' became more apparent as the chivalrous and military elements were used as a means of reaffirming a dominant masculinity, in a pre-war world in which feminism and gender questions were becoming ever more intrusive and disquieting. The concept of the chivalrous man allowed the position of the male to be re-established, with women reminded of their reliance and ultimate subservience. When Winnington-Ingram spoke to the businessmen

the Gordon Boys' Homes was established in Surrey as a national memorial for the 'training of destitute boys of ages from 14 to 18 [...] trained in military exercises [...] religious instruction has received the most careful consideration and attention' (*The Times*, 18 Jan 1890, p. 8). In 1894 a new chapel was dedicated at the home and the Bishop of Winchester referred to Gordon as a 'chivalrous [man] whose one book was his Bible' (*The Times*, 22 May 1894, p. 12).

⁸⁹ Winnington-Ingram, *The Attractiveness of Goodness*, p. 65 & 78.

⁹⁰ Michael Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War*, (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 78.

of the City and requested that, 'do let us stand by one another in a real sense of chivalry and honour', the purpose of this was 'with regard to the women entrusted to our care'.⁹¹ Chivalric masculinity ensured that men stood by one another not only in order to protect 'womanhood' but to re-establish themselves as a gendered group: 'a homosocial community of men' within which they could allay their fears and confusion over their identity and role.⁹² This was an organised structured group the complete opposite of the mob and the crowd which were 'a world of dangerous instincts and primitive memories'.⁹³ As well as Winnington-Ingram, the masculine dominance inherent within the gendered 'stand' had been asserted by Canon Skrine, when he stated that 'a lad is a better lad for being disciplined and trained [...] in his heart he knows that he stands between his mother and his sisters, his sweetheart and his girl friends and all the women he meets and sees and the inconceivable infamy of alien invasion'.⁹⁴ Not only was the man, or lad, standing in a personal capacity for those women he knew, but in his capacity as a representative of manhood and masculinity, he was standing for all women. He had to stand as a representative of his gender to protect those less able. This reaffirmed and reasserted his dominance and his manhood. There was an ultimate irony to this reassertion of the male group as the protector of the feminine. By September 1914 where a man did not join the 'the community of men' by volunteering, he ran the risk that a

⁹¹ Winnington-Ingram, *The Attractiveness of Goodness* p. 163 – this was Winnington-Ingram's third Guildhall Address that year and was titled 'A Sense of Honour the Secret of Glory.'

⁹² Michael Kane, *Modern Men: Mapping Masculinity in English and German Literature 1880-1930* (London: Cassell, 1999), Preface p. vi.

⁹³ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, p. 223.

⁹⁴ C. E. Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain: An Historical Review* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1928), p.148: the date of the quotation is not given but it was included in NSL Leaflet L and hence would be after 1900. Skrine was commented on earlier in this chapter in respect of the *Pastor Ovium: The Day-Book of a Country Parson*.

representative of those women he should have been protecting would highlight his failure to stand in line, by presenting him with a white feather.

Manhood was therefore not a solitary act, a man might have to physically stand alone, but he knew that within the essence of his manhood and masculinity, other men, the team, the company, the brigade, the troop, the group stood with him. Frantzen considers Ephesians vi to be 'embodied and literalised' by the codes of chivalry that promoted not only the importance of 'truth to self and ultimately self-sacrifice' in the individual but also 'loyalty and obedience' to the group.⁹⁵ The sacrificing of self for the good of the many reflected Christ's sacrifice of Himself for the salvation of all men. Sue Morgan argues that the 'primacy of an exclusively individual form of salvation' had been replaced by the end of the nineteenth century by 'the message of the incarnation' that was 'essentially one of human solidarity'.⁹⁶ This was an urbanisation of the sacrament that reflected an industrial society in which the individual was subsumed by the communality of the group. Winnington-Ingram described sacrifice not merely as a physical act but also 'a real losing of self' in order to find self realisation in the ideal of chivalry, and in the 'joy and reality of comradeship' tasting 'together the joy of battle'.⁹⁷ Death also did not terminate the responsibilities of the group, it in fact heightened them, as any act of self-sacrifice had to be avenged by other men and this 'requires the continuation of violence in the victim's name'.⁹⁸ Self-sacrifice was never imposed but was willingly embraced. Even in a society that demands and expects an act of self-sacrifice the act itself is still an assertion of individual self-will. It is this affirmation of the individual will that allows

⁹⁵ Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 19, 127 & 139.

⁹⁶ Sue Morgan, 'Wild Oats or Acorns? Social Purity, Sexual Politics and the Response of the Late-Victorian Church', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 31 No. 2 (Jan 2007), 151-168 (p. 153).

⁹⁷ Winnington-Ingram, *The Attractiveness of Goodness*, p. 78 & p. 71.

⁹⁸ Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 20.

masculinity and manhood to be achieved and hence for the individual to become part of the group. Sonja Levsen contends that this concept, that manhood 'was not regarded as given but rather as something that had to be achieved', was commonly held by both 'British and German students' in the decade preceding the First World War.⁹⁹

The inter-relationship between self and the group in their masculine environment was also represented through the growth in sports, both individual and team. The 'cult of athleticism' was part of this 'ideology of manliness' and it was through sport and games that the individual's 'competitive need to be distinguished from his comrades' could be tested on the sports-field and not the battlefield.¹⁰⁰ Sport was therefore an arena in which man could restate and test himself. Sport was not just a secular pursuit as many 'teams' were church based.¹⁰¹ In addition the masculinity of the sportsman was utilised by some within the church to establish contact with the men of the locality.¹⁰² Winnington-Ingram considered that during the 1890s sport and its participants were instrumental in attracting people to church when he wrote that 'I do believe it was the sight of those athletes, whom I subsequently was able to bring up from Oxford, going to church and even to communion which did more than any sermons to convince Bethnal Green that there was something in religion after all'.¹⁰³ However as will be discussed in the next chapter his support for the sportsman had slightly abated by the 1910s when he was berating the

⁹⁹ Sonja Levsen, 'Constructing Elite Identities: University Students, Military Masculinity and the Consequences of the Great War in Britain and Germany', *Past and Present*, Vol. 198 (Feb 2008), 147-183 (p. 148).

¹⁰⁰ Levsen, 'Constructing Elite Identities', p. 153; Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 32.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the relationship between religion, sport and recreation see; Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010).

¹⁰² See McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 155 in respect of Rev. A. Osborne Jay of Holy Trinity Hoxton and boxing.

¹⁰³ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Fifty Years' Work in London 1889-1939* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1940), p. 6: this referred to his initial period in the East End when he was Head of Oxford House. Two of the athletes were; Cross, a runner from New College and Hewett, a rowing blue from University College.

golfers of the West End for playing, and using caddies on a Sunday. At the outbreak of war a more sanguine and critical view of the benefits of the culture of the athlete was taken by the vicar at St Andrew Stoke Newington when he wrote of 'the growth in our generation of an exaggeration of [...] the importance of physical strength' and that 'the heroes are those who win the blues'.¹⁰⁴

Winnington-Ingram wrote of 'the sight of those athletes' and there are similar elements of voyeurism in both Paul Deslandes' description of the undergraduate's 'homosexual celebrations of the athletic male body' and in Vance's 'suppressed homosexuality of his excited reveries on the touchline'.¹⁰⁵ Sport and athleticism with their roots in the male dominated worlds of the public schools and universities therefore had within them strands of the ultimate 'erotic male bonding': homosexuality.¹⁰⁶ In 1885 the Criminal Law Amendment Act had become law. This act included the Labouchere Amendment which had recriminalized 'gross indecency' between males either in public or private. Despite this law, or perhaps as a response to it, David Hilliard considers that the 1890s were 'a crucial decade in the development of a distinctive homosexual identity' and Matt Cook argues that by 1914 'homosexuality was woven into the fabric of urban culture'.¹⁰⁷ The class structure of society ensured that at the turn of the century 'only middle-class men had sufficient social freedom to develop a homosexual lifestyle' but within the culture of homosexuality there were representatives of other classes.¹⁰⁸ The soldier was one of the 'well-known urban types' together with amongst others the

¹⁰⁴ LMA, P94/AND/205, St Andrew Stoke Newington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Aug/Sep).

¹⁰⁵ Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 181; Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit*, p. 187.

¹⁰⁶ Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁷ David Hilliard, 'Unenglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 25 No. 2 (Winter 1982), 181-210 (p. 197); Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality 1885-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ Hilliard, 'Unenglish and Unmanly', p. 183.

'settlement worker' and the 'telegraph boy,' and soldiers were 'implicated in a number of gross indecency cases' in the pre-war decades.¹⁰⁹ This association of the warrior with the homosexual culture sat uneasily with the church which already had gender and sexual issues. Anglo-Catholicism provided homosexual men with 'a set of institutions and religious practices through which they could express their sense of difference in an oblique and symbolic way' and 'some of the young men who clustered around Anglo-Catholic churches [...] were regarded by observers as 'unwholesome' and 'sentimental'.¹¹⁰ Whilst the effeminacy implied in 'unwholesome' and 'sentimental' was not always linked to homosexuality, there was no doubt that to the late-Victorian and Edwardian mind 'there was something not quite *right* about some young Anglo-Catholics'.¹¹¹ This association of effeminacy and unmanliness with sectors of its organisation did not assist the Church of England in emphasising and projecting its masculine attributes in the troubled gendered world of pre-war England.

One response of the Church in these circumstances was to encompass 'manly and martial images' and attributes to combat 'public notions of their activities as being antithetical to accepted forms of masculine behaviour'; a re-emphasis of the warrior and not the lamb.¹¹² One embodiment of the chivalrous male, with 'manly and martial images' that included Christian as well as secular influences was that of St George, the 'chivalrous knight who rescues the fair lady from certain death'.¹¹³ This 'fair lady' was the antithesis of the strident female of the pre-war years who through her actions and

¹⁰⁹ Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, p. 39 & 26.

¹¹⁰ Hilliard, 'Unenglish and Unmanly', p. 184 & 190.

¹¹¹ John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism* (London: Church Union Publications, 1998), p. xx & 223.

¹¹² Adam Knobler, 'Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 48 No. 2 (Apr 2006), 293-325 (p. 311).

¹¹³ Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero Martyr and Myth* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2000), p. 1.

thoughts questioned the basis of masculinity and threatened traditional gender roles. St George had represented traditional male dominance in his rescuing of the female. This was a reaffirmation that was important from a religious viewpoint as many believed that St George's 'fair lady' was linked to the Virgin Mary; the mother of the Son of Man.¹¹⁴ This was a major restatement of manhood, and the masculinity of Christianity, where the mother of Christ, Himself the embodiment of the Christian man, needed the assistance and protection of the reasserted male. There was in fact a more aggressive feminism within the St George story and that was embodied in the dragon; whose 'elongated serpentine neck' highlighted the close relationship of dragons to snakes.¹¹⁵ Iconography frequently emphasised the femininity of both the dragon and the snake through giving both creatures the representation of a human head which is 'often clearly that of a woman'.¹¹⁶ Through iconographic association therefore St George's dragon embodied and symbolised the snake in the Garden of Eden; the snake that through the weakness of the female caused the original fall of man. The female gender therefore embodied the snake that could only creep whilst the reasserted male was able to stand alongside Christ, the Son of Man. This overcoming of the female was also sexual. In the killing of the dragon St George used his 'phallic lance' in 'an act of penetration' and re-codified the dominant male position.¹¹⁷ Once again man was there to look after 'all the women he meets and sees' and all those 'women entrusted to our care'.¹¹⁸ One other long-held belief emanating from the Middle Ages was that the dragon often 'represented the devil, heresy

¹¹⁴ Riches, *St George*, Chap 3 'The Virgin's Knight', pp. 68-100: there are many links between the two figures with in some narratives the Virgin bringing St George back from the dead and then arming him.

¹¹⁵ Riches, *St George*, p. 153.

¹¹⁶ Riches, *St George*, p. 156.

¹¹⁷ Riches, *St George*, p. 160 & 171.

¹¹⁸ Skrine quoted in Playne, *The Pre-War Mind*, p. 148; Winnington-Ingram, *The Attractiveness of Goodness*, p. 163.

and paganism – all considered destructive of order and social cohesion’.¹¹⁹ Therefore the mythology of St George not only impacted upon pre-war views of manhood and gender but also upon the secular and religious elements of a disordered society.

Many of the strands of the above discussion were apparent in St Paul’s Cathedral on 12 June 1906 when the chapel of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George was dedicated in a service attended by the King, which displayed ‘all the attributes of knightly dignity’.¹²⁰ Whilst Winnington-Ingram was present, the address was given by Bishop Henry Hutchinson Montgomery, Prelate of the Order, who took as his text Ephesians vi. 13. He finished the address with the following; ‘that having done all – all that man can do – that is noble and pure and great - you may not fall but stand’: words that could be a mantra for the self-sacrifice soon to be faced by many men.

Finally on a purely physical level of course the word ‘stand’ was intrinsic to the military parade, marching and training in ordered ranks, that was part and parcel of the various youth organisations. A common theme across the period was the benefit of the drill and military discipline. The Rev. J. P. Way, headmaster of Rossall School in the 1900s, considered military training to be a ‘sound foundation for the finest type of Christian manliness’.¹²¹ Similar sentiments were expressed by Paul Bull, a camp chaplain to the north-western CLB who devoted one chapter in his book to ‘The Spiritual Value of Military Discipline’.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Bengston, ‘Saint George and the Formation of English Nationalism’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 27 No. 2 (Spring 1997), 317-340 (p. 319).

¹²⁰ All references are from *The Times*, 13 Jun 1906, p. 6 ‘The King at St Paul’s’. Like St George, St Michael had fought with dragons when ‘there was war in heaven,’ His raised sword, like St George’s lance is a phallic representation of reaffirmed masculine traits.

¹²¹ Rev. J. P. Way, ‘Military Training’, in *The Public Schools from Within: A Collection of Essays on Public School Education Written Chiefly by Schoolmasters* no ed. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Ltd, 1906), pp. 208-217 (p. 210).

¹²² Paul B. Bull, *Work among Lads in the Church Lads’ Brigade* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 190?), chapter 2.

The social, religious and gender issues discussed above influenced a church that was also subject to political and national concerns that came more to the fore after the turn of the century. The Boer War had highlighted the shortcomings of the British army in its attempts to successfully wage a quick war, on what was perceived to be an inferior force. This then raised questions about the ability of England to defend itself against a potential invasion. Historically such an invasion would have been seen as being launched from the old enemy, France. However by the turn of the century France had been replaced by the greater threat of Germany. An article in 1902 had commented that the Boer War had created 'the widespread presence of Anglophobia on the continent' and that in Germany particularly, such 'Anglophobia is now almost universal'.¹²³ Searle comments on the 'enhanced sense of vulnerability on the part of many Britons,' prevalent in the soul-searching after the end of the Boer War and Howard highlights that the threat was now more direct as the country required to be militarised 'no longer to defend the frontiers of the empire [...] but to save Britain herself'.¹²⁴ This concern gave rise to and was heightened by various invasion scares and alarms that Ryan considers 'induced a state of near paranoia concerning the vulnerability of Britain's defensive preparations'.¹²⁵ Hynes comments in similar fashion on the vastly increased invasion literature available through newspapers and books; mainly concentrated on Germany.¹²⁶ Michael Matin lists the influential invasion-themed novels that were published in the 1900s and 'fomented anxieties in pre-war England': T. W. Offin, *How the Germans took London*, published in 1900, Lequeux, *The Invasion of 1910*, and Oldmeadow, *The North Sea Bubble*, both

¹²³ Patriae Quis Exul, 'Anglophobia in Germany', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 81 (Jan-Jun 1902), 13-22 (p. 13).

¹²⁴ Searle, *A New England?*, p. 504; Howard, 'Empire, Race & War', p. 10.

¹²⁵ Ryan, 'The Invasion Controversy', p. 8.

¹²⁶ Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, p. 35.

published in 1906 and Lequeux, *Spies of the Kaiser: Plotting the Downfall of England* published in 1909.¹²⁷ In addition to these, Erskine Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of Secret Service* was published in 1903. Summers argues that such 'propaganda' created a 'citizenry united in defence the homeland;' a citizenry that Adams argues had a 'fear of the treacherous enemy and fascination with the idea of war'.¹²⁸

The Church of England was no more immune from such scares than the laity, and in 1911 the vicar of St Saviour Kensington commented that 'we hear of war and rumours of war'.¹²⁹ Playne argued that in such an atmosphere the majority of Anglican clergy 'preferred either to trust the government as to foreign relations or were themselves infected with current anti-German prejudice'.¹³⁰ Playne's views were confirmed by the actions and comments emanating from certain parishes within the diocese of London. In September 1910 the LDCLB of St Albans Fulham took part in an exercise based on the assumption that 'the long expected German invasion took place and all communication with our headquarters was cut off,' and in December 1913, in another mock invasion, St Luke West Holloway's 'vicarage was besieged by a company of infantry'.¹³¹ In Jan 1914 the Literary and Debating Society at St Mark Tollington Park discussed the motion 'Aircraft – Britain's Need'; there was no record of the outcome of the debate.¹³² A sense of the inevitability of events of August 1914 was apparent in the response of two parishes: the vicar at St Stephen Shepherds Bush commented on the arrival of the 'great

¹²⁷ A. Michael Matin, 'The Hun is at the Gate!: Historicizing Kipling's Militaristic Rhetoric from the Imperial Periphery to the National Centre: Part Two', *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 31 No. 4 (Winter 1999), 432-470 (p. 434).

¹²⁸ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 107; Adams, 'The National Service League', p. 57.

¹²⁹ LMA, P74/SAV/102, St Saviour Kensington, Parish Magazines 1906-11 (Nov 1911).

¹³⁰ Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain*, p. 287.

¹³¹ LMA, P77/ALB/070, St Albans Fulham, Parish Magazines 1910 (Oct 1910); P83/LUK/80, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan 1914).

¹³² LMA, P83/MRK/154, St Mark Tollington Park, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan 1914).

war which we have so long dreaded' and at St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate the vicar declared that 'we are at last plunged into the war which, for so many years, we have feared'.¹³³ The parish of St Augustine Highbury saw 1914 as no more than the culmination of growing German Anglophobia; 'we all knew that sooner or later this terrible test would come [...] we could not travel the cities of Germany and mix with her people without seeing the temper and trend of things, the silent but ceaseless preparation of years for a final and conclusive effort to humiliate England'.¹³⁴ Other voices decried the failure to act in the pre-war years; 'some of the wiser men – notably Field Marshal Earl Roberts anticipated [the war] and warned the Government and the people to prepare for this gigantic struggle – but their warnings were unheeded'.¹³⁵

Political and national concern was not restricted solely to the perceived German threat. Prior to August 1914 there were those who had seen threats to England from other sources: certain of which were internal. In January 1914 the vicar at St Mary Acton wrote that 'the year opens with decidedly gloomy prospects from a political point of view owing to the apparent possibility of something approaching Civil War in Ireland during its course'.¹³⁶ This concern was mirrored on the eve of the outbreak of the First World War by the vicar at St Philip the Evangelist Islington who commented that 'the position of affairs in Ireland is giving great anxiety to all thoughtful people'.¹³⁷ Just prior to that two parishioners at St Mary Harefield were more concerned at the threat posed by the suffragettes and wrote separately to the vicar of the parish proposing that a 'watch' be set

¹³³ LMA, P80/STE/201, St Stephen Shepherds Bush, Parish Magazines 1912-14 (Sep 1914); DRO/070/371, St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1912-14 (Sep 1914).

¹³⁴ LMA, P83/AUG/132, St Augustine Highbury, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep).

¹³⁵ LMA, P87/JS/62, St James Paddington, Churchwardens' Yearly Records 1911-15 (1914).

¹³⁶ LMA, DRO/052/180, St Mary Acton, Parochial Report 1914.

¹³⁷ LMA, P83/PHE/28, St Philip the Evangelist Arlington Square Islington, Parish Magazines 1912-15 (Aug 1914): this would have been written prior to war being declared.

up at the church to prevent possible damage; one was concerned that ‘the police certainly cannot protect us’ whilst the other referred to the ‘recent dreadful depredation by the suffragettes’.¹³⁸

These historical, theological, social, gender and political themes influenced the church and the clergy in a variety of ways. This thesis will analyse initially those sectors of society and the Church in which there were militaristic traits; one example being the education sector. An assessment will then be made of the relationship between the Church of England, the military and the various youth organisations prevalent in the pre-war period. The final chapter will then analyse in detail the local parish involvement within the diocese of London to ascertain if those military elements were a common factor and welcomed within the diocese both by the clergy and the laity.

However prior to that an assessment will be made of the influence and views of those clergy and church organisations whose stance was distanced from the military ethos. Whilst the discussion will concentrate on the response of the Church of England to pre-war militarism many of the organisations and arguments were inter-denominational in nature. The talk of war and invasion inevitably created a range of societies, leagues, councils, associations and committees dedicated to countering the slide into hostilities. An excellent detailed overview of the variety and range of peace movements in existence prior to August 1914 is given by both Ceadel and Laity.¹³⁹ The range of organisations was extensive; some just to meet a particular crisis and others that remained in existence for years. There were those that had specific religious associations. The ‘Friends Peace Committee’ formed in 1888 by the Quakers being an example. Others had no specific

¹³⁸ LMA, DRO/080/A11/1-2, St Mary Harefield Uxbridge, Letters dated 8 & 10 June 1914.

¹³⁹ Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists*; Laity, *The British Peace Movement*.

religious leanings; as was the case of the 'Rationalist Peace Association' formed in 1910. As would be expected there was an increase in the formation of such organisations during the Boer War, with both the 'South African Conciliation Committee' and the 'Stop the War Movement' having started in November 1899.¹⁴⁰ Many of those born out of a specific crisis either ceased because the crisis abated or events over-took them; an excellent example of the latter being Norman Angell's 'Neutrality League' formed on 31 July 1914.

The main Anglican peace organisation, the 'Church of England Peace League' was founded in October 1910. It had two objectives; the first was 'to keep before Anglicans the duty of combating the war spirit' whilst the second was 'to promote universal and permanent peace by encouraging arbitration, conciliation and international friendship'. The second of these might prove difficult when annual subscriptions and donations in the first year amounted to £44 and membership by 1911 was only 109.¹⁴¹ As befitted its name there was a good representation from within the Church and by November 1913 the committee included, Edward Hicks, Bishop of Lincoln as President together with John Percival, Bishop of Hereford, Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford and Hubert Burge, Bishop of Southwark. Burge was also listed in the August 1914 *Army List* as an army chaplain to a Territorial Force battalion based in Camberwell Surrey.¹⁴² This apparent conflict between the Church of England Peace League's objective of 'combating the war spirit' and the Territorial Force was at the heart of the dichotomy in respect of the relationship between the lamb and the warrior. Burge obviously saw no conflict between these two

¹⁴⁰ Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, Appendix 2 lists 'British Peace Associations', pp. 429-434.

¹⁴¹ Laity, *The British Peace Movements*, pp. 185-6: the initial members included Caroline Playne whose books in the 1930s are referenced in this paper.

¹⁴² *Army List*, Aug 1914 (1602).

roles. This conflict is summarised by Summers when she compares 'Prussianism' with other 'forms of militarism'.¹⁴³ The former was an example of the extremes of militarism whilst in comparison the latter were a more humane and civilised version; even so the definitions and the concept of a militarised culture, as discussed in the first chapter, would highlight the duality of Burge's position. Similar examples of plurality and duality are discussed in chapter 5 in regard to the militarism of the scouts. In addition to these four bishops, the membership of the Church of England Peace League included three deans (Carlisle, Lincoln and Worcester), six canons and ten other members of the clergy.¹⁴⁴ Membership and support of the League also appeared to have increased by 1913 as Hicks noted in his diary entry for 20 May 1913 that he had attended a 'crowded Annual Meeting of the Peace Society at the Mansion House'.¹⁴⁵

In addition to the Peace League there were other examples of opposition from clergy of the Church of England to either specific events or to the perceived general militarization of society. The opposition to the Boer War by 'many Christian socialists, led by Gore and Scott Holland' has already been mentioned in chapter 1.¹⁴⁶ In a more general context Rev. William Leighton Grane, a committee member of the Church of England Peace League highlighted the militarism endemic within society. A society that was 'craving after military display' and gave 'vulgar and faithless worship' to 'big battalions which seem to represent the only kind of almighty our miserable materialism now allows us to conceive'.¹⁴⁷ Grane saw militarism not as a means of defence against a

¹⁴³ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 105.

¹⁴⁴ The list of Committee members was included in *Pamphlet 10* of the Church of England Peace League (copies of *Pamphlets 1-10* are held at the BL)

¹⁴⁵ Graham Neville, *The Diaries of Edward Lee Hicks Bishop of Lincoln 1910-1919* (Lincoln: The Lincoln Record Society, 1993), entry no. 329: the index adds the word 'League' in parenthesis to the Peace Society.

¹⁴⁶ Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Grane, *The Passing of War*, p. 135 & 129.

potential invader but as 'the gloved hand of war itself,' and as such in complete negation of the counter arguments that military training was instrumental in creating better citizens, he argued that 'war is not the factory of character'.¹⁴⁸

There were however other arguments and beliefs that reflected deeply held Christian and theological views on the sanctity of life that saw any relationship between the lamb and the warrior as anathema. This position was cogently expressed by a Congregationalist when he stated that in the case of the Christian Churches 'it is surely not too much to say that their voice should always be heard on the side of peace'.¹⁴⁹ This view was echoed by the Church of England Peace League in its declaration that peace was the 'divine ideal of human society'.¹⁵⁰

Many of the major themes that tested the Church of England in its responses to the challenges it faced in pre-1914 England are defined and discussed in the range of ten pamphlets issued by the Church of England Peace League between 1911 and 1914. These pamphlets considered amongst other matters the concept of the 'just war' and the specific theological and moral questions raised by a war between two Christian countries. In 1914 for example, in a sermon he gave on the subject 'Is War Inevitable?' at St Mary Le Bow Cheapside, Rev. J. Howard B. Masterman remarked that it was 'best to confine our consideration to the case of civilized nations' and argued that 'the rescue of the Soudan [sic] from the tyranny of the Mahdi [was] inevitable if Great Britain were to fulfil her civilized mission in the world'.¹⁵¹ War with those perceived to be un-civilized was therefore considered capable of being justified whilst conflict between Christian nations

¹⁴⁸ Grane, *The Passing of War*, p. 192 & 277.

¹⁴⁹ Rogers, J. Guinness, 'The Churches and the War', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 77 (Jan/Jun 1900), 609-619 (P. 610).

¹⁵⁰ Church of England Peace League, *Pamphlet* 8.

¹⁵¹ *Pamphlet* 10

might be viewed 'as intolerable'.¹⁵² This was not a new stance within the Church. In 1898 in an article on the war between the United States and Spain the *Church Times* had commented that they could 'see the day when Christian nations will give up once and for all the grosser forms of conflict'.¹⁵³ Similar concerns were raised by Rev. Launcelot Charles Walford, vicar of St Saviour Chelsea concerning the Boer War in which 'we find ourselves involved in a disastrous war [...] the people with whom we are in conflict are Christians like ourselves'.¹⁵⁴ Gore shared this dilemma and quoting St Athanasius stated that he 'cannot conceive how war can be contemplated as a thing which in the future can subsist between peoples who name the name of Christ and belong to his religion.'¹⁵⁵

The discussions and arguments against a war between Christian nations were not restricted to the theological but acknowledged the inter-relationships evident between countries. Gore considered that Norman Angell's *Great Illusion* was 'really a great book'.¹⁵⁶ Angell had argued that the 'world's finance and commerce were now so inextricably entwined, crossing all national boundaries, that the price of war between nation states must be so high as to make the prospect inconceivable'.¹⁵⁷ The Rev. Hewlett Johnson, vicar of St Margaret Altrincham stated similarly that 'war between civilized states today can never achieve its aim'.¹⁵⁸ Not all contributors to the pamphlets were in agreement with him; at a Congress in 1911 Rev F Lewis Donaldson, vicar of St Mark

¹⁵² *Pamphlet 9*, 'War and Christianity' part of an address given by Gore, Bishop of Oxford at the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Church of England Peace League held at Westminster 29 Jan 1914

¹⁵³ *Church Times*, 29 Apr 1898, p. 472.

¹⁵⁴ LMA, P74/SAV/101, St Saviour Upper Chelsea, Parish Magazines 1897-1905 (Jan 1900).

¹⁵⁵ *Pamphlet 9*.

¹⁵⁶ *Pamphlet 9*.

¹⁵⁷ Paper delivered by Norman Angell to the Institute of Bankers on 'The Influence of Banking on International Relations' 7 Jan 1912, quoted in David Kynaston, *The City of London: Golden Years 1890-1914* (London: Pimlico, 1996), p. 539. As an example of this financial interdependence: 'large amount of German marine insurance placed in London [...] in 1905, after German propaganda to the contrary Lloyd's had emphasised that all claims would be met, even in wartime' p. 358.

¹⁵⁸ *Pamphlet 3*, 'Why Wars Must Cease': reprinted from the *Optimist* Jan 1912.

Leicester considered modern finance and business were supporters of militarism and 'that modern warfare was tainted by commercialism'.¹⁵⁹ A similar view was argued by Grane in 1914 when he stated that 'the material assertions for peace' played into the militarists' hands and that such arguments gave moral acceptability to the 'military party'.¹⁶⁰

Others acknowledged that the manly and chivalric appeal of militarism, the belief 'that war is the best school of manly virtue' had to be countered in order 'to destroy the old idea that war is in itself a noble thing'.¹⁶¹ The chivalry of militarism had to be shown for what it was; not 'the great teacher of heroic self sacrifice, the great preserver of manly virtues' but in fact the apologist for war that 'leads to carnage agony and the cheapening of human life'.¹⁶² In a riposte to the lance and raised sword of St George and St Michael, Grane noted that 'through centuries of military Christianity' the 'cross of sacrifice' had 'developed backwards and downwards into the cross handle of the blade'.¹⁶³ The sword raised and held aloft, in an implied warlike stance, therefore represented a complete denigration and denial of all that Christ on the cross was meant to signify. War, far from being an embodiment of Christianity, became its antithesis and 'mankind cannot learn the lore of Christ in the school of Satan'.¹⁶⁴ The concept of the 'stand' was also utilised by Gore Bishop of Oxford when he condemned the Church of England for what he perceived to be a negation of the basic tenets of Christianity; 'If the Church of England is truly to stand for Jesus Christ it must learn, to an extent a hundredfold greater than it has

¹⁵⁹ *Pamphlet 1*, 'The Church's Duty in Furthering International Peace: A Report of Meeting at Stoke on Trent Church Congress, 4 Oct 1911.

¹⁶⁰ Grane, W. Leighton, 'Public Opinion and War', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 104 (Jul/Dec 1914), 360-367 (p. 361).

¹⁶¹ *Pamphlet 1*: paper given by Rev T. J. Lawrence.

¹⁶² *Pamphlet 7*: 'Three Sermons on the Failure of Christendom' - sermon 2 Rev. T J Lawrence.

¹⁶³ *Pamphlet 7*: sermon 1 W L Grane.

¹⁶⁴ *Pamphlet 7*: sermon 2 T J Lawrence.

yet shown signs of realising, to stand for the cause of international peace'.¹⁶⁵ In these words there was no standing as a watchman with lance and raised sword, no self-sacrifice into the group just an affirmation that one should stand for the 'lamb of peace.'

In pre-war England the Church of England and its clergy were subject to the same range of influences as beset the rest of society. The clergy were a gender specific group, and not only were they susceptible to the challenges faced by manhood generally, but also faced issues in respect of their own inter-relationship with the secular male world. The nature of the militarised Christian, either through the mythology of St George or the reality of General Gordon, gave the church access to the dialogue of the reaffirmed masculinity of the *fin de siècle*. However within that dialogue the Son of Man had to be relevant in the changed gendered environment. Concerns in respect of international relations also coloured the debate and added an element of *realpolitik*. These were strands that permeated the relationship between the church and secular society and the church's response to the militarism of the times. There were also elements within the church who considered that the concept of peace was at the centre of Christianity. However in certain instances this 'concept of peace' was restricted to fellow Christians and did not include those outside the faith. It should also be remembered that the Church of England Peace League was only founded in 1910.

As discussed earlier in this chapter the changing nature of masculinity was a factor that was faced by late-Victorian and Edwardian society in general and also by the church but this was only one of the challenges facing the Church of England in the pre-war years. In London, as in other conurbations, the church had to re-establish itself within the new urban environment, and the next chapter will discuss in addition to gender issues the

¹⁶⁵ Pamphlet 9.

social, and demographic challenges faced by the church and specifically the diocese of London within that metropolitan arena. The church will be placed within the changing secular structure of the pre-war London and the responses of the diocesan hierarchy and the local parishes to these changes will be analysed.

CHAPTER 3

Greater London 1890-1914: 'A caste system which rendered many untouchable and demanded separateness at home and play and work'¹

This chapter will analyse the social, gender, economic and demographic changes that shaped London throughout the late-Victorian and Edwardian years. It will also assess the Church of England's responses to these changes as, through the diocese of London, it attempted to position itself into a viable, effective and relevant institution in circumstances that were alien to its past. In addition many of the clergy had, through upbringing, little ability to empathise with the social and economic conditions and morals apparent within substantial areas of the urban environment.

Whilst change is to varying degrees a constant in human development, London throughout the period under discussion was a place of substantial and invasive change. This change that had started earlier in the nineteenth century but was still having a major

¹ Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Human Awful Wonder of God* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007), p. 4.

impact upon a society in which the population was not only increasing but also spreading into the new suburbs. This population growth and movement impacted economically upon society in general. At the 1891 Census the population of Greater London² was 5.634 million, by the time of the 1911 census this figure was 7.252 million, an increase of 28.7 percent. This was merely a continuation of the growth seen throughout the nineteenth century the population having more than doubled from its 3.222 million in 1861 to the 1911 figure. However the growth was not constant across the metropolis. The area that was to constitute in the main the Metropolitan Boroughs of the County of London had shown little increase during the period, growing marginally from 4.228 million in 1891 to 4.522 million in 1911. Conversely the outer ring, primarily the Urban Districts, the new suburbs had increased from an 1891 figure of 1.405 million to 2.730 million in 1911.³

This increase in suburban numbers had been offset in part by declining population levels in others parts of the metropolis; between 1901 and 1911 nineteen Boroughs and the City of London⁴ had declined in population.⁵ Of these nineteen Boroughs five were south of the Thames and hence do not fall within the diocese of London, but the

² Greater London incorporates those areas of the metropolis that would be defined by the London Government Act of 1899, either as the Administrative County of London with its Metropolitan Boroughs or as the Urban Districts that North of the Thames were situated in the Counties of Middlesex and Essex and to the South of the Thames in the Counties of Surrey and Kent. Appendix 2 gives a breakdown of the Metropolitan Boroughs and the Urban Districts that were situated in the diocese of London.

³ The Census figures for 1891, 1901 and 1911 are available from various sources. For a contemporary summary *The Times*, 26 May 1911, p. 8, gives an excellent concise comparison of the numbers. Recent studies in addition to Jerry White's that include comment on London's population growth and movement during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include; Jean-Loius Robert, 'Paris, London, Berlin on the Eve of the War', in *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-191*, ed. by Jay Winter and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 25-53; P. J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2005). For specific detailed population changes on a decadal basis from 1811 through to 1901 on various parishes in the County of Middlesex, *A History of the County of Middlesex Vol. 2*, ed. by William Page (London: Victoria County History, 1911), pp. 112-120 is very useful. In addition *Kelly's Directory of Middlesex* (London: Kellys, 1914) has detailed parish populations for 1911.

⁴ In certain publications 'Westminster' is referred to as 'the city of...' for the purposes of this paper it is referred to as a Metropolitan Borough.

⁵ *The Times*, 26 May 1911, p. 8.

remaining fourteen boroughs north of the Thames ranged from Poplar in the East End to Chelsea in the West End. The largest decrease was in the City of London where by 1911 population levels had decreased by approximately twenty-seven percent to a figure of 7266. This was a continuation of a decline apparent in the second half of the previous century when inhabited houses in the City had decreased from 14,580 in 1851 to 3934 in 1901.⁶ In Chelsea the decrease was eleven percent and similar figures were evident in St Marylebone and in Finsbury.⁷ It is also pertinent that this was the first time since 1851 that seven of these fourteen boroughs had shown any decline. The effect of decreasing population numbers upon the local economy and demography of the area caused as many problems, albeit of a differing nature, to those inherent within areas of fast expanding growth. However despite the decrease in population levels in certain east London districts by 1911 density levels would still have been high when compared with those seen in other districts. These density levels reflected historic patterns that the 1891 Census highlighted; the average number of people per acre for London as a whole was 57, whereas in Bethnal Green it was 161, Whitechapel 195 and in Spitalfields 334.⁸

Following on the expansion of rail and tram transport links the new areas of growth were the suburbs and with the increase in population came the urban infrastructure to support these new developments. Just prior to the turn of the century the parish of Holy Trinity Southall in the west of the diocese commented that the community 'has indeed

⁶ White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 47.

⁷ These are all areas that White refers to as 'new London inside the County boundary' *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 95.

⁸ London School of Economics (LSE), Booth Archives B221 (112-133); interview with Rev W. H. Davies, Vicar of Spitalfields Christ Church, the figures are given in a copy of the 1897 Report and Accounts that is included with the interview.

made remarkable strides in the past dozen years’ which included a new system of drainage, new streets, a public hall and a school.⁹ Growth levels were high;

Population	1891	1901	1911
Tottenham/Wood Green	97174	136744	186787
Edmonton	36351	61892	98409
Acton	24206	37703	57497
Chiswick	21344	28516	38697
Ruislip	1836	3566	6217

Over sixty percent of the population increase in Greater London in the 1890s was outside the County of London borders.¹⁰ Growth, as evidenced above, that lasted through the timescale of a generation would inevitably bring social challenge and change particularly to a society that was structured on rigid class and gender lines. Traditional, hierarchical-based communities with accepted social and demographic structures were undermined by such growth patterns. Andrew Smith describes the London of the 1900s as a ‘class-bound, gendered space’ a view that White endorsed in his ‘caste system’ comment that is used as the heading for this chapter.¹¹ Whilst the concept of a caste system may appear extreme there was at least one example of a new church being built in the 1880s in the Upper Holloway area with the specific intention that it be used by the ‘artisans in [the] district and servants of those living near St John’s.’¹² The intention was that St John’s continued to be used by the middle classes who employed those artisans and servants. Throughout the period London had a female gender bias. In 1891 the ratio of women to

⁹ LMA, DRO/141/R/101/002, Holy Trinity Southall, Parish Magazines 1898 (Mar).
¹⁰ White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 90.
¹¹ Andrew Smith, *Victorian Demons: Medicine, Masculinity and the Gothic at the Fin-De-Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 9.
¹² *A History of the County of Middlesex*, Vol. 8 ed. by T. F. T. Baker and others (London: Victoria County History, 1985), pp. 88-99, and footnote 39: the two churches were St John Upper Holloway and the new church of St Stephen Elthorne Road Upper Holloway.

men was 111:100, a ratio that in Kensington and Hampstead was dramatically higher at 150:100, due entirely to the number of domestic servants.¹³ Female employment accounted for approximately one third of all employment in London and in the years prior to the First World War 'female domestic service predominated to a greater degree than in any other European city'.¹⁴ Comparative gender figures from the 2001 Census show that there was almost the same number of males as females.¹⁵

In addition to this gender imbalance pre-war London had the 'image of a city of children'; in 1891 the ratio of under-fifteens to those over-sixty-five was 900:100, and by 1911 thirty-eight percent of the population was under the age of twenty.¹⁶ Comparative 2001 figures showed a population that was more evenly spread across the age ranges.¹⁷ The populations of Greater London in 1911 and 2001 were virtually the same.¹⁸ However that of 1911 lived in an area that was 'about half the size of modern London.'¹⁹

The nature of the population was also one of movement. Whilst the mass influx of the middle decades of the nineteenth century had reduced over the following years immigration was still a factor of pre-war London life: the Jewish immigration of the 1880s and 1890s into areas of the East End being one example. The growth of the suburbs also necessitated daily movement into the City through utilisation of the new transport routes and by the turn of the century eighty-four percent of the traffic into the

¹³ Inwood, *City of Cities*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Robert, *Paris, London, Berlin*, p. 33-34.

¹⁵ National statistics for the 2001 census show the number of females at 3.70 million with men at 3.46 million a ratio of < 101:100.

¹⁶ Robert, *Paris, London, Berlin*, p. 30, 31; Inwood, *City of Cities*, p. 11.

¹⁷ Under-fifteens account for 1.34 million compared with 0.89 million aged over-sixty-five, a ratio of <200:100. In addition under-twenties accounted for less than twenty-five percent of the total population.

¹⁸ 1911: 7.252 million, 2001: 7.170 million.

¹⁹ Inwood, *City of Cities*, p. 9.

various railway termini was from within Greater London.²⁰ Whether involving newcomers or those that had been born there, to the population of London in the decades prior to 1914, internal population movement was a major factor in metropolitan life. Whilst by 1914 close to seventy percent of London's residents had been born within the Greater London area, change and movement were ingrained within the population's psyche, regardless of class and economic wellbeing, in what White refers to as a 'state of social flux that was most unanticipated and most unwelcome'.²¹

In order to deal with these changed and changing circumstances the administration of the metropolis had to be altered and modernised. The structure of London was amended initially by the Local Government Act of 1894 which created the Rural and Urban Districts across the country and then by the London Government Act of 1899 which created the Metropolitan Boroughs of the metropolis. This re-structuring of the secular government of the metropolis was mirrored by the Church of England in the 1901 rescheduling of Rural Deaneries by the diocese of London which as far as possible followed the local government organisation.²² *The Times* reported that Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London, wanted the deaneries to be 'conterminous [sic] with the boundaries of the new boroughs' or as the *Church Times* described the re-structure 'to blend municipal and ecclesiastical life'.²³ This desire was no more than an acknowledgement of the change that had taken place in the relationship between the secular and clerical elites over the past century. The church had been unable to translate

²⁰ White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 79.

²¹ White quotes a figure of 66.5 percent of the 1901 population being 'London' born (*London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 98 & p. 101), whilst Robert refers to only 32 percent of the 1914 population being born outside 'London' (*Paris, London, Berlin*, p. 30). The assumption is that Robert's 1914 figure is actually taken from the 1911 census; White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 95.

²² Officially announced in the *London Gazette*, 13 Dec 1901, pp. 8805-8817.

²³ *The Times*, 11 Dec 1901, p. 10; *Church Times*, 13 Dec 1901, p. 699.

its historic powerbase from the rural environment to the new urban conurbation where 'the parish system, the control of parson and squire the rule of vestry simply broke down in the face of the masses of people who packed [...] into the sprawling conurbation of London's East End'.²⁴ Various initiatives were undertaken during the nineteenth century, including that of Charles Blomfield, Bishop of London in the 1830s, to make the church more accessible and relevant as 'because of its pre-eminent size, status and problems, the capital was always before the eyes of the bishops'.²⁵ However by the closing decades of the century 'Londoners [had] turned away from the church' and this rebuttal of the church covered the whole social spectrum of pre-war London.²⁶ In the poorer areas K. S. Inglis considers that 'the working man in shabby fustian [...] would not take himself to church alongside respectable broadcloth' and Hugh McLeod sees the East End as neighbourhoods that 'had a collective position of antagonism to most aspects of organised religion'.²⁷ The church also encountered problems in the wealthier areas of the city and in 1910 Winnington-Ingram spoke on 'The Weakness of West End Christianity' in one of his addresses to ladies.²⁸ The question of church attendance will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Mandell Creighton's acknowledgement of the need to 'blend municipal and ecclesiastical life' was therefore no more than an admission of the reality faced by the church in London at the start of the twentieth century. The historic functions of the

²⁴ Chris Brooks, 'Introduction', in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. by Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 4.

²⁵ Andrew Saint, 'Anglican Church-Building in London 1790-1890: From State Subsidy to the Free Market', in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. by Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) pp. 30-50 (p. 30).

²⁶ Inwood, *City of Cities*, p. 375.

²⁷ K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 59; Hugh McLeod, 'White Collar Values and the Role of Religion', in *The Lower Middle Classes in Britain 1870-1914*, ed. by Geoffrey Crossick (London: Cross Helm, 1977), pp. 61-88 (p. 66).

²⁸ Winnington-Ingram, *The Mysteries of God*, pp. 301-318.

church in dealing with poverty, social conditions and family life had been taken over during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Initially the church's role had been replaced by quasi-official bodies, an example being the Charity Organisation Society, and in the opening decade of the twentieth century by government legislation, an example being the Old Age Pension Act of 1908. Creighton's acknowledgement was merely an acceptance of the *realpolitik* of the time; for whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century 'London government had often relied on the Church to get things done by the end churchmen anxious for progress in their parishes turned to Vestries and County Hall instead'.²⁹ This reality-check by the hierarchy of the Church of England, that it had to follow the lead and mirror the changes of the secular power within London, must be viewed as an admission that its own position of influence was much diminished in the urban environment.

The reorganised diocese of 1901 covered a geographical area from Poplar in the east to Enfield and South Mimms in the north, Hendon and Wealdstone in the north-west with Uxbridge and Staines in the west. The Thames was its southern border. Whilst 1901 is ten years after the start date of the period covered by this study the component parishes were primarily the same in the 1890s. Within the diocese certain new rural deaneries were created in 1901 and other historic rural deaneries were disbanded to reflect the changing population structure.³⁰ The re-scheduling of the diocese resulted in two Archdeaconries being formed; the Archdeaconry of London and the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, the

²⁹ White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 444: whilst an appropriate comment the London Government Act intended that the Metropolitan Boroughs replace the existing 41 Vestries and District Boards of Work.

³⁰ The new deaneries were: Bethnal Green, Finsbury, Holborn, Poplar, Tottenham, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Hornsey, Westminster and Willesden. The disbanded deaneries were: Saint Sepulchre, Spitalfields, Highgate, Saint Martin in the Fields, Harrow, Saint George Hanover Square, and Saint Margaret and Saint John Westminster.

former had twelve rural deaneries and the latter fourteen. For details see appendix 1. The number of parishes per rural deanery had no consistency and whilst it might be expected that those rural deaneries with a smaller number of parishes might have larger underlying populations within those parishes, this was not the case. In Holborn (12 parishes) the population in 1901 was in the region of sixty thousand, compared with Willesden (23 parishes) at one-hundred and fourteen thousand. The implication is that the centre, the 'old London' still held sway over certain decisions and was unwilling to defer too much to the newer areas. What was also obvious was that many existing parishes often did not reflect the changing population levels and suburban growth, and were inadequate in size to deal with the expanded population. For instance in Fulham deanery in 1902 it was reported that whilst the deanery 'has grown enormously in the last decade and now numbered 140,000 souls [...] the various churches offered 20,000 sittings' only.³¹ During the period from 1890 to 1914 in excess of 80 new parishes were created within the diocese, approximately equally split between the 1890s and the first 14 years of the new century. Mission churches were also being created and Winnington-Ingram commented in his autobiography that in the years prior to 1914 'I was consecrating about six churches a year in London'.³² As would be expected the new churches were in the new expanding suburbs, whilst during the same period the reduction in certain population levels in other parts of the diocese were reflected in for example the merger of the three Spitalfields' parishes in 1911 and two in Fitzroy Square around the same time.³³ The hierarchy of the diocese was also strengthened and expanded through the creation of new suffragan

³¹ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1902.

³² Winnington-Ingram, *Fifty Years' Work in London*, p. 84: the comment was made when he was in Khartoum in 1913 to consecrate the Cathedral built in memory of General Gordon.

³³ The three Spitalfields parishes were Christ Church, St Mary and St Stephen all within Bethnal Green Rural Deanery; the two in Fitzroy Square were St Saviour and St John both in St Pancras Rural Deanery.

bishops. In 1895 the position of the Bishop of Bedford was renamed as Bishop of Stepney, which more accurately reflected the responsibilities of the role, and in 1898 the first Bishop of Islington was appointed. 1901 saw the first appointment to the position of the Bishop of Kensington and in 1911 the bishopric of Willesden was created. The titles of these new bishoprics reflected the changing nature of pre-1914 London and were an acknowledgement of the geographical areas that needed a more local and focussed ecclesiastical presence and influence.³⁴ However despite these measures being taken, one religious survey completed in 1913 implied that the churches in general were dilatory in responding to the changing demographics and 'new districts are being opened up and unless churches seize occasion by the hand the sites they should be securing are found to be already in the hand of the speculative builder'.³⁵

The themes of population growth and movement, together with the inherent problems such changes brought, were a constant challenge faced by the parishes of the diocese regardless of their social or economic surroundings. At the beginning of the 1890s the parish of St Matthew Ponders End had reported 'an alarming increase' in population and towards the end of the century a neighbouring parish, St Mark Enfield, reported that the locality had been 'rapidly built over during the last five years'.³⁶ St James parish Friern Barnet, also situated in the north east of the diocese, commented on the 'steady growth of building in this parish' and in 1902 it was reported that 'very determined efforts are being put forth in the North-Eastern district of London [...] to

³⁴ All the episcopal positions continue to this day apart from Islington, which only ever had one incumbent Rev. Charles Henry Turner from 1898 until 1923 since which date that position has been in abeyance.

³⁵ H. William Harris and Margaret Bryant, *The Churches and London: An Outline Survey of Religious Work in the Metropolitan Area* (London: The Daily News and Leader, 1913), p. 2.

³⁶ LMA, DR064/123, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-94 (May 1891); *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jan 1898.

make provision for the spiritual needs of the increasing population'.³⁷ Further to the west, All Saints South Acton commented in 1902 that 'there has been a great deal of building on the Southfield side of the parish' and later in the same decade a neighbouring parish in Brentford described itself as a 'large and increasing district'.³⁸ To the north of Regent's Park the parish of Emmanuel Hampstead commented in 1899 that 'the village hamlet of only a few years ago has become a parish of over ten-thousand souls'.³⁹ The growth in Fulham in the south of the diocese has already been commented on and by 1902 the area had 'grown enormously in the last decade'.⁴⁰

Not only had population levels increased but the character of the new arrivals differed in many instances from that of the traditional inhabitant. One West End parish at the start of the 1890s commented that there were 'many parishes in central London from which all the richer inhabitants have retired that they may go and live in the purer air and healthy homes of the suburbs'.⁴¹ Towards the end of the 1890s an article in the *Church Times* described St Barnabas Kings Square Finsbury as a 'vast church originally a proprietary chapel for wealthy people holding 2280 being most unsuited and discouraging to the straggling scores of poor people who now attend it'.⁴² During the same period a St Marylebone parish continued the theme of the loss of the richer element of the parishioners when it lamented that 'the new railway has driven away some of our best

³⁷ LMA, DR0/12/1/K2/3, St James Friern Barnet, Annual Statements 1893-1902 (1899); *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jan 1902.

³⁸ LMA, DR056/027, All Saints South Acton, Reports 1893-1908 (1902); DR076/52, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1906 (Jan): prior to becoming a separate parish in 1907 St Faith was a mission church of St Paul Brentford.

³⁹ LMA, P81/EMM/87/1, Emmanuel Hampstead, Annual Reports 1894-1908 (1899).

⁴⁰ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1902.

⁴¹ LMA, P84/TRI2/14, Holy Trinity Brompton, Annual Report 1892

⁴² *Church Times*, 14 Oct 1898: in an article titled 'The Spiritual Needs of North and East London'. A few years later the figures in *The Religious Life of London* ed. by R. Mudie-Smith, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904) indicated that the combined attendance at the morning and evening services at this church were 26 men and 32 women.

friends and the generous gifts we were accustomed to expect from them'.⁴³ In the neighbouring area of St Pancras the vicar at St Matthew Bedford New Town resigned in 1902 as his income from the parish had reduced so much due to 'the rapid decline of the neighbourhood'.⁴⁴ Further east a similar tale was told; looking back on his time at the parish, the vicar at St James Pentonville commented in 1893 that 'in the 24 years during which I have ministered at Pentonville the middle-class, by death and change of residence has become nearly extinct'.⁴⁵ In 1907 the Annual Report of Holy Trinity Haverstock Hill described the parish in elegiac terms 'with its faintest remembrance of a wealth that is long past'.⁴⁶ The building of Marylebone station was not the only change in the infrastructure of the diocese that dynamically changed the nature of a particular parish. Around St Pancras one parish witnessed the 'transformation of many large houses into public institutions and offices,' and further west in Paddington the parish of Christ Church Lancaster Gate commented in 1911 on the 'rapid increase of hotels and boarding houses'.⁴⁷ Also in 1911 the Marylebone parish of St Andrew remarked that 'the parish now consists mainly of shops, warehouses not of dwelling houses'.⁴⁸ In certain cases there was an element of social cleansing; St Simon Chelsea reported on the 'altered character of the parish [...] so many of our poor people having been pushed out towards Battersea and Fulham'.⁴⁹

⁴³ LMA, P83/JSA/19, Christ Church Marylebone, Year Book 1897: Marylebone station and track were still being built in 1897, finally opening in 1899.

⁴⁴ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jun 1902.

⁴⁵ LMA, P76/JS2/66/20-32, St James Pentonville, Annual Reports 1890-97 (1893).

⁴⁶ LMA, P90/TRI/089-090, Holy Trinity Haverstock, Hill Annual Reports 1890-95, 1903 & 1907-15 (1907).

⁴⁷ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Aug 1904: St Saviour St Pancras Fitzroy Square; GMS, 17886, Completed Articles of Enquiry 1911, 21-5.

⁴⁸ GMS, 17886, 23-10: the parish had also possibly seen the changes due to the building of the railway.

⁴⁹ LMA, P74/SIM/22/1, St Simon Upper Chelsea, Annual Report 1902.

These changes to population were continuous, with the new arrivals themselves in many instances being transients and moving on within a short time period. This heightened the feeling of constant change that was a theme running through many of the 1905 Visitation Returns, particularly those from parishes in the east and centre of the diocese. In the east, St Columba Haggerston described the parish as 'being only a thoroughfare, it is difficult to know our people well and as soon as they become respectable they migrate elsewhere'.⁵⁰ St Stephen Poplar commented on the 'continual shifting of the population' whilst neighbouring St Anne Limehouse reported on an 'increasing exodus into the eastern suburbs'.⁵¹ Parishes in Hackney and Stoke Newington deanery commented on, 'migratory parishioners' at St Peter de Beavoir Town and a 'shifting population' at All Saints Stoke Newington.⁵² At St John the Evangelist in Red Lion Square Holborn the vicar commented on the 'shifting of the population' a view mirrored in the neighbouring parishes of Holy Trinity St Giles and Christ Church Woburn which reported respectively on a 'constant shifting population' and 'constant change in the residential population'.⁵³ Further to the north and west the incumbent at St Cyprian in St Marylebone deanery commented on the 'constant changes' whilst St Philip Islington complained of a 'constantly shifting population'.⁵⁴ Toward the north-east, St Adhelm Edmonton, only created as an independent parish in 1903, reported on the 'migratory life of the people, a third move away each year'.⁵⁵ Similar concerns were reiterated at various parishes in Tottenham deanery; St Bartholomew commented on the 'continued

⁵⁰ GMS, 17885, Completed Articles of Enquiry 1905, x-9.

⁵¹ GMS, 17885, ix-9; xi-1.

⁵² GMS, 17885, vi-26; vi-29.

⁵³ GMS, 17885, vii-11; vii-4; vii-6.

⁵⁴ GMS, 17885, xxii-14; viii-36.

⁵⁵ GMS, 17885, iv-5.

fluctuation of the population', All Souls on 'the shifting character of the poor parishioners,' St Saviour Alexandra Park on 'a fluctuating population' and Christ Church West Green on the 'continual shifting of the population'.⁵⁶

In the north-west St Matthew Willesden reported on a 'continual migration of people' and St Michael Stonebridge on the 'changing character of the neighbourhood'.⁵⁷ Even the wealthier parishes had their specific problems on population movement; St John Church Row Hampstead, which acknowledged that it consisted of 'a very large population of well-to-do', commented that this had brought its own problems with '2000 or more domestic servants always changing'.⁵⁸ This lack of stability in the make up of parishioners was still a concern in 1911 at Christ Church St Pancras where the incumbent calculated that the shifting character of the local parishioners meant that although the population of the parish was given as ten-thousand 'in any 12 months some thirty-thousand people live for at any rate some part of the time within its boundaries'.⁵⁹ Whilst in certain instances the feeling of 'change' may have been exaggerated this was the mindset and environment within which the local clergy worked, one that fashioned and formulated their views on the actions required and stances to be taken.

As already mentioned the social make up of certain parishes declined in the years up to 1914 and poverty increased in a number of the parishes as a result of these demographic changes, whilst in others it had been endemic throughout the period. The Booth interviews with clergy towards the end of the 1890s are well documented reports on the poverty within parts of the diocese and these are supplemented and mirrored by local

⁵⁶ GMS, 17885, xii-3; xii-1; xii-12; xii-4.

⁵⁷ GMS, 17885, xxvi-16; xxvi-26.

⁵⁸ GMS, 17885, xvii-1: An example of the reason for the feminine bias in the census figures in certain parts of London.

⁵⁹ LMA, P90/CTC/199-215, Christ Church St Pancras, Annual Reports 1895-1914 (1911).

parish commentary across the diocese and time-span. One measure of the poverty within the diocese was the recipients of monies from the Poor Parishes Aid Fund run by Christ Church Lancaster Gate parish.⁶⁰ The fund was available each year and appendix 2 lists the recipient parishes within the diocese from the sample years of 1892, 1896 1906 and 1914. Whilst the majority of recipient parishes were, as would be expected, from the East End there were also others from Kensington and Fulham and the growing northern areas of Willesden and Enfield. The number of recipient parishes was reasonably constant, ranging from twenty to the mid-twenties in the years 1892, 1896 and 1906, by 1914 however the number had reduced to nine. St Luke Poplar was the only parish that received money in all the four years, with new recipients being seen in each of the sample years. Over the period therefore poverty was spread across the diocese and whilst the demographics of the diocese changed, the need for financial assistance in many cases did not. Other monies were also available, even within the widespread poverty of the East End. The parish of St Andrew Stoke Newington was an enclave of comparative wealth which in 1913 received letters of thanks from 4 local parishes thanking the parish for its donations.⁶¹ In the west, St Mary Abbots Kensington was reported in 1903 as giving help to '11 poor parishes'.⁶²

Therefore poverty was not restricted to certain areas but was present throughout the diocese, either as pockets within wealthier areas or as swathes of destitution. In 1903 the *London Diocesan Magazine* listed various rural deaneries that according to the 1901

⁶⁰ This 'Fund' was not restricted to parishes within the diocese of London, and in various instances parishes south of the Thames benefitted. The amounts made available were normally up to £20 for purposes such as; National School expenses, curate's stipends or general 'living expenses'.

⁶¹ LMA, P94/AND/204, St Andrew Stoke Newington, Monthly Paper 1913 (Feb): the four parishes were; St John Stamford Hill, All Saints Clapton, St Matthias Stoke Newington and St Ann Stamford Hill. There are no archival records to suggest whether this was a 'one-off' or a regular act of charity.

⁶² *London Diocesan Magazine*, May 1903; there was no mention of the recipient parishes.

census had a 'large number of poor'. These included Fulham deanery that had seven parishes listed and Chelsea with two, other parishes were in Paddington, Willesden and Hammersmith, also in 1903 a neighbouring parish of St Michael Notting Hill was described as having a population of 9600 and 'of these 6000 are poor'.⁶³ A sample of the responses to the 1905 Completed Articles of Enquiry confirms that poverty continued to be a problem across the diocese. In certain areas it was less prevalent than in others; for instance on the western fringes of the diocese the vicar of St John-the-Evangelist at Great Stanmore was the only incumbent to remark on the 'poverty' of a particular parish.⁶⁴ Elsewhere it was commonplace. Towards the north east of the diocese the parish of St James Upper Edmonton was described as a 'poverty stricken parish', whilst at St Peter Lower Edmonton 'extreme poverty', was mentioned, at St Mary Hornsey Rise 'growing poverty', and Holy Trinity was categorised by the one word 'poverty'.⁶⁵ Further south the incumbent at St Andrew Whitehall Park Islington described the parish as having 'increasing poverty' and St John Clerkenwell was considered to be a parish that was 'exceedingly poor'; the description of Christ Church Somers Town in St Pancras Deanery as 'very poor' virtually mirrored this whilst that of the neighbouring parish of St Martin Gospel Oak was simply 'poverty'.⁶⁶ In the East End, St James West Hackney and St Matthew Stepney were both described as parishes with 'increasing poverty' whilst All Saints Poplar was considered to be 'becoming poorer', the parishioners at St Andrew

⁶³ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr & Jun 1903: the parishes listed in the April report do not include any from the East End of London and the assumption must be that the report highlighted the poverty in the west and north-west. The number of 'poor' Fulham parishes listed was probably the outcome of the social cleansing commented on by St Simon Chelsea (LMA, P74/SIM/22/1) and the growth in population in that area (*London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1902).

⁶⁴ GMS, 17885, xxvi-13.

⁶⁵ GMS, 17885, iv-8; iv-14; viii-27; xii-5.

⁶⁶ GMS, 17885, viii-6; v-8; xxiii-15; xxiii-24.

Hoxton were described as '10,000 very poor,' and at St Stephen Spitalfields there was 'extreme poverty'.⁶⁷

Poverty therefore was a constant problem within the diocese and with it came distress and deprivation. In 1895 Holy Trinity Hoxton reported that 'during the past week, [there had been] two cases of absolute starvation in Shoreditch', and a decade later All Saints Haggerston, a parish in the same area, commented that 'the distress in the last two years has been appalling and has led to various suicides'.⁶⁸ In 1907 the parish of St James the Great Bethnal Green reported that 'the poverty in this neighbourhood becomes greater as years go on [...] fathers of families unable to procure regular work owing to the depression in the boot and wood turning trades or the places of business being shifted to other parts of the country'.⁶⁹ The suffering connected to poverty was not restricted to the East End. In 1893 the parish of St Andrew Upper Westbourne Kensington reported that 'the distress this winter has been exceptionally great' and two years later the parish magazine of All Souls Langham Place, situated at the northern end of Regent Street commented that 'severe cold continued to prevail [causing] cases of special distress among the already suffering poor of the parish'.⁷⁰ In 1912 the parish of St Faith Brentford commented that 'it is a relief to know that there are fewer families in great distress through lack of employment this winter'.⁷¹

One result of the poverty and distress was the ever constant threat of illness and subsequent death. This was a matter of comment from the Bishop of London in the years

⁶⁷ GMS, 17885, vi-22; xi-20; ix-1; x-4; xi-29.

⁶⁸ LMA, P91/TRI/75, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1891-97 (Mar 1895); GMS, 17885, x-3.

⁶⁹ LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, St James the Great Bethnal Green, Scrapbook: Annual Report and Accounts 1907: for an assessment of the changes to employment opportunities and the industrial geography of London see; P. G. Hall, *The Industries of London since 1861* (London: Hutchinson & Co (Publishers) Ltd, 1962).

⁷⁰ LPL, St Andrew North Kensington, Annual Report 1893; LMA, P89/ALS/149-50, All Souls Langham Place, Parish Magazines 1891-96 (Mar 1895).

⁷¹ LMA, DRO/76/57, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1912 (Jan).

prior to August 1914 when in his sermons, tracts and talks Winnington-Ingram made regular reference to the fact that death was ever-present in Edwardian London. He preached a sermon, titled 'The Value of a Man' at St James Fulham, on Sunday October 2 1904 and spoke of the 'tempests of sorrow, in this huge city, where someone dies every eight minutes, day and night!'⁷² On Sunday, 12 March, the following year in his London Lenten Mission Addresses at St Paul Onslow Square he returned to the same theme when he remarked that 'in this city of ours someone died every eight minutes day and night'.⁷³ In his Mission in 1910 he used the same statistics during his Sunday evening talk at Edmonton, entitled 'The Life Beyond the Grave', when he reminded his listeners that 'every eight minutes, day and night, in London someone passes into the other world'.⁷⁴ Four years later in 1914, before the outbreak of war, in one of his Addresses to Men in the Guildhall, entitled 'The Gospel of Power', Winnington-Ingram once again commented that 'someone dies in London every eight minutes, day and night' and he commanded his audience to 'think of the death-beds of London'.⁷⁵ This reiteration of these mortality statistics over a ten year period by the most senior cleric in the diocese of London implies awareness by the church's hierarchy of the poverty and social conditions that blighted parts of London. Whilst acknowledging that the wealthy die as well as the poor this staccato request to 'think of the death-beds of London' was stark in its brevity particularly when it is borne in mind that the audience at the Guildhall was in all probability comprised of men who worked in the City.⁷⁶ This request for his audience to

⁷² Winnington-Ingram, *The Faith of Church and Nation*, p. 203.

⁷³ Winnington-Ingram, *The Bishop of London's Lenten Mission*, p. 8.

⁷⁴ Winnington-Ingram, *The Mysteries of God*, p. 143.

⁷⁵ Winnington-Ingram, *The Eyes of Flame*, p. 201.

⁷⁶ 'The Gospel of Power' was the last of three Addresses to Men in the Guildhall and whilst none specifically mention the social make-up of the three audiences Winnington-Ingram remarked that he had

have empathy and understanding across the social and economic divide mirrored the challenges facing the church in its attempts to gain relevance amongst the urban poor and disadvantaged, and to include the wealthier elements within society in this endeavour.

This was therefore the environment in which the diocese of London had to function in the years preceding the First World War and it was one in which some contemporary observers considered its efforts to be failing. There was no doubting that generally the Church of England knew that it was out of touch with the new urban environments. Comments that topped and tailed the period acknowledged this. In 1891 the Archdeacon of Westminster conceded that ‘in multitudes of cities and parishes [...] we have practically lost all effectual hold on the mass of the working classes,’ and in 1912 the Rev J. H. B. Masterman wrote that ‘the Church of England is an alien organisation and integral part of an order of things that is passing away’.⁷⁷ This alienation was also apparent within the metropolis. In 1899, in a sermon on the Christian Social Union given at St Paul Haringay, Rev. Henry Scott Holland discussed the challenge of ‘the new state of things arising out of the great industrial development’.⁷⁸ The demographics discussed earlier in this chapter, the social change, population movement and the aura of constant change were seen as negative players in the relationship of the church with society. Surveys of religion highlighted the impact of change and industrialisation. In 1904 Mudie-Smith published his work on *The Religious Life of London* and within that the problem of the ‘altered attitude, especially of the working classes towards the churches’ was laid firmly against ‘the industrial revolution which has transformed England from an

asked the same question of ‘two thousand poor people’ in the East End deaneries and that he would ‘answer it from the City man’s point of view today.’ *The Eyes of Flame* p. 165.

⁷⁷ Farrar, *Social and Present-Day Questions*, p. 16; Masterman, *The Church of England*, p. 65.

⁷⁸ LMA, DRO53/273, St Paul Haringay, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Jan 1900): the sermon was given on 3 Dec 1899.

agricultural community' and 'with the other social ties disappears the powerful unifying force of religion'.⁷⁹ Whilst this was written specifically about the East End of London the problems of non-attendance at church were not just confined to the poorest areas as 'between 1866 and 1902 attendance in London's suburban and upper class districts declined by a third'.⁸⁰ McLeod argues that the real decline was over a shorter period of years commenting that 'between 1886 and 1903, church attendance in the metropolis fell considerably further in seventeen years than it had in the previous thirty-five'.⁸¹

In order to assess the actuality of church attendance in the years preceding the First World War appendix 3 gives details of Easter communicant figures across a range of parishes. Easter communicants have been chosen as they will indicate any trends over a period of years and the church's canons specifically state that Anglicans should take communion at that time. McLeod however considers that Easter communicant figures are not a reliable guide to overall church attendance. He argues that 'there were large numbers of Anglicans in the nineteenth century who attended church regularly, but seldom or never received communion'.⁸² McLeod gives the reasons for not taking communion and these include: 'a feeling of unworthiness', 'doubts about particular Anglican doctrines' or 'a more generalised lack of faith'.⁸³ These do appear slightly nebulous reasons; surely a 'generalised lack of faith' would mean non-attendance at a service and not just a refusal to take the sacraments. McLeod then acknowledges that the 'numbers of Easter communicants were rising in the late Victorian and Edwardian

⁷⁹ Percy Alden, 'The Problem of East London', in *The Religious Life of London*, ed. by R. Mudie-Smith (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904), pp. 19-42 (p. 19 & 21).

⁸⁰ Searle, *A New England?*, p. 533.

⁸¹ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 171.

⁸² McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 175.

⁸³ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 175.

periods, and reached a peak in 1911 – but this probably reflects the growing importance attached to Communion at a time of rising Anglo-Catholic influence'.⁸⁴ By this argument the churchgoer who had in the late Victorian period suffered from either 'feelings of unworthiness', theological doubts or just a 'generalised lack of faith' had been changed or been replaced by one who found that they were willing to take communion during the ceremony and symbolism of the Anglo-Catholic service; practices which might be deemed to increase doctrinal doubts. McLeod concludes 'that church attendance statistics are far more reliable' but my concern here would be that they do not reflect one specific annual event and as such comparisons are less valid as unknown influences, for example a prestigious visiting preacher might have artificially inflated attendance figures with attendees from outside the parish.⁸⁵

Whilst acknowledging the potential weakness of Easter communicant numbers I feel that they give a 'snapshot' of participation within the church at a specific unchanging event year on year by local parishioners; as such they at the very least give a sense of local trends over a period. In the appendix the parishes are split into those in the east of the diocese, the west and the suburbs to assess whether there were any specific trends linked to social and economic influences. There are a few instances of parishes where there was a marked decrease in Easter communicant levels between 1890 and 1914. One example was the parish of St Thomas Stepney situated in the East End where communicant numbers fall from approximately two-hundred in the 1890s to less than a hundred in 1914 and during this period the parish population was reasonably constant at

⁸⁴ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 175: there is no doubting the Hilliard comment on 'the central importance of the incarnation' in the Anglo-Catholic service (Hilliard, 'Unenglish and Unmanly', p. 206).

⁸⁵ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 175.

about 16000. The parish of St Saviour Shoreditch also saw a reduction in numbers from in excess of three hundred in the early 1890s to around two hundred in the 1900s.

However regardless of their location in the diocese the vast majority of the parishes listed in the appendix either saw increased levels of Easter communicants or at worst were able to retain communicant levels at those evident in the 1890s. However these figures must be placed within the context of the population movement discussed earlier in this chapter to reach a conclusion as to the 'real' levels of communicant growth or retention during this period.⁸⁶

There were certainly instances of real growth across the diocese. The population of the parish of St Augustine Highbury remained reasonably static at about 7000 during the period, but by 1906 Easter communicant levels had more than doubled from their 1890 level to a figure in excess of 550. Another parish with a reasonably constant population level in the region of 5000 throughout the period was St Luke South Kensington where Easter communicant levels increased steadily from 356 in 1897 to 701 in 1914. In the East End at St James the Great Bethnal Green the number of communicants increased from 47 in 1902 to 139 in 1914, although this figure was still a low percentage of a parish population that was approximately 6000.⁸⁷ However in many parishes where growth was seen over a period of years in the Easter communicant levels this was mirrored by an increase in local population levels. Communicants at the parish of Emmanuel Hampstead increased from 371 in 1897 to 696 in 1909 but the parish population grew from just under 7500 to in excess of 11000 between the censuses of 1891 and 1911. Similar growth

⁸⁶ It is acknowledged that local changes to civil parish boundaries might increase or decrease local population levels but we are really looking at general trends in this respect not specifics.

⁸⁷ Low attendance figures were historic at this parish which in 1887 was described as 'almost empty at the Sunday services' in a letter dated 5 Feb 1887 in the *Spectator* (LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, St James the Great Bethnal Green, Scrapbook).

patterns were evident at All Souls Harlesden where the population, which had been less than ten-thousand in 1891, had increased by about fifty percent in 1901 and was in excess of twenty-thousand by 1911; during those years Easter communicant levels had grown from 376 in the late 1890s to 542 in 1914. By 1912 St Saviour Paddington had more than doubled the Easter communicant levels to a figure in excess of 500 when compared with the figures for 1897 but between 1891 and 1911 there had been a steady increase in the parish population of more than 4000 to a 1911 total that was in excess of 15000.

In the suburbs this relationship between a growing populace and increased communicant levels was, as would probably be expected, apparent in various instances. In some parishes the communicant growth exceeded the comparative population increase. An example of this was the parish of Christ Church Crouch End where a modest increase in population from just over 4300 in 1891 to a figure slightly less than 6000 in 1911 was more than matched by a communicant increase from 193 in 1890 to 521 in 1914. Similar figures were evident at St James Hampton Hill where population levels grew by just over a thousand between 1891 and 1911 to approximately 3300, whilst the communicant numbers of 166 in 1890 had increased to 469 in 1914. During the ten years from 1891 population levels at St Michael at Bowes Southgate virtually doubled to in excess of 9000 and communicant numbers increased from 183 in 1890 to 483 in 1903. The population of St James Muswell Hill increased fivefold between 1891 and 1911, to a figure slightly less than 10000, and communicant levels increased by a similar measure from 136 in 1891 to 740 in 1914. A steady increase in communicants was evident at St Matthew Ashford, more than doubling from 151 in 1890 to 334 in 1906; the population of the parish had

increased from 2700 in 1891 to just less than 5000 in 1901 and further increased to over 6500 in 1911.

However an increasing population did not guarantee an increase in communicant levels. The population at St James Chiswick High Road Gunnersbury increased from about a thousand in 1891 to just less than 3000 in 1901 and was in excess of 3500 by 1911, but despite this increase communicant levels were either static or evidenced a slight decrease between the 162 present in 1897 and the 128 who attended the Easter service in 1913. Similar trends were evident at St Michael Highgate where, despite a population increase of about a thousand between 1891 and 1911 to a figure slightly less than 4000, communicant levels whilst mainly static had by 1913 reduced to 380 compared with 469 in 1890. St Mary Acton had quite static communicant figures throughout most of the period with 568 in 1890 and 634 in 1914 and this was despite the population increasing by about fifty percent from 1891 to a figure in excess of 12500 in 1911. Certain instances of communicant increase were due to a mission church being given parish status. St Alban Fulham became a separate parish in 1897, prior to which date communicant levels were increasing but never exceeded 200, but by 1906 more than 400 took communion on Easter Sunday. Similar growth figures were seen at St Peter Staines which became a separate parish in 1894; before that year communicant levels were less than 150 but by 1913 they regularly exceeded 300.

The suburban parishes therefore generally evidenced communicant growth that reflected, to a greater or lesser extent the increasing local populations. Other sections of the diocese saw communicant levels retained or only slightly increased throughout the period, in many cases in parishes where population levels were reasonably constant.

Towards the east of the diocese St John Upper Holloway, with a population in the region of 12000, despite a peak in attendance in the early years of the twentieth century had by 1914 reverted to an Easter communicant figure of 389 that was only slightly more than the 311 communicants of 1892. The population of Holy Trinity Hampstead was static at about 4000 throughout the period and communicant levels showed only a small increase: 401 in 1892 had increased to 490 in 1914. Further to the south east St Luke Hackney, with a population in the region of 11500 throughout the period, reversed a decline in communicant numbers over the turn of the century and the 392 total for 1909 was in line with the 404 seen in 1890. Towards the north east the parish of St Mary Hornsey Rise had a constant population in the region of 13000 and communicant figures moved very little from 215 in 1890 to 237 in 1909. St Simon Hammersmith, a parish towards the west of the diocese, with a population from 1901 of about 6500, had regular Easter communicant levels in the two hundreds from 1894 through to 1914.

These Easter communicant figures imply that in the pre-war years the Church of England was generally able to retain communicant levels in most parts of the diocese of London and to increase numbers in the new suburban environment. This retention was in itself an achievement in an environment of constant social change with a transient population. These statistics also need to be viewed within the context that in the Church of England nationally the 'high points in Easter Day communicants as a proportion of population occurred in 1903 and 1913'.⁸⁸ Hence any growth or retention within the diocese of London might be due in part to a general nationwide groundswell of Easter communicant levels as well as a response to local parish initiatives. However the figures also emphasise the small percentage of local populations that attended the local parish

⁸⁸ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 163.

church and highlight the lack of association between the church and the majority of the growing population.

The Easter communicant figures are mere statistics and their potential limitations have been highlighted earlier. Therefore an analysis needs to be made of the contemporary narrative on both Easter communicant and general congregation levels to ascertain whether that confirmed the trends implied by the numbers. There is evidence of increased attendance levels in certain areas of the diocese that would support the growth seen in some of the communicant numbers. Success was apparent at All Saints Acton which in 1893 recorded 'large and earnest congregations' and by 1898 the 'number of communicants has slightly increased', but this was in a parish where during the 1890s the population doubled to in excess of 10000.⁸⁹ The parish of St Gabriel Bounds Green in Tottenham Deanery was created in 1906 and by 1911 had a population in excess of 7000 and a year later reported 'on increasing numbers of communicants on Easter day'.⁹⁰ In the same deanery in 1909 Christ Church West Green commented that Easter services were 'well attended'.⁹¹ To the west in 1895, St Stephen Shepherds Bush reported that there had been 'a crowded church' at Harvest Thanksgiving, and Holy Trinity Brompton recorded a 'steady increase of communicants at the early celebrations', around the same period.⁹² After the turn of the century St James Piccadilly reported that 'congregations have largely increased'.⁹³ At a similar time four St Marylebone parishes were able to report increasing numbers. In his 1901 Annual Report the incumbent at All Souls

⁸⁹ LMA, DRO56/027 & 036, All Saints South Acton, Annual Reports 1893-1908 (1893) & Parish Magazines 1897-98 (Jan 1898): the increase in population continued in the 1900s and by 1911 was more than 17000.

⁹⁰ LMA, DRO/071/028, St Gabriel Bounds Green, Parish Magazines 1912 (May).

⁹¹ LMA, DRO30/E1/20, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1909 (May).

⁹² LPL, St Stephen Shepherds' Bush, Parish Magazine Nov 1895; LMA, P84/TRI2/150, Holy Trinity Brompton, Annual Report 1897.

⁹³ *London Diocesan Magazine*, May 1903.

Langham Place reported that the annual number of communicants 'has increased to 6467' and in 1905 St Matthew Maida Hill recorded a 'great increase in the congregation and in the number of communicants'.⁹⁴ In 1913 Emmanuel Maida Hill commented on an 'increase in the number of communicants' whilst in the following year St Paul Portman Square noted that 'there has been a gratifying increase in attendance'.⁹⁵ Moving eastwards Holy Trinity Haverstock Hill in St Pancras deanery reported in 1910 that 'our communicants are larger than they have ever been in the long history of the parish' and around a similar time the parish of St John the Baptist Kentish Town in the same deanery commented that 'congregations appeared to be growing especially Sunday Evenings'.⁹⁶ Further east and more to the north in Islington deanery, the parish of St Paul Canonbury reported positively on congregation levels throughout the period: in 1893 'congregations have been increasingly large' a growth that continued and in 1905 it was remarked that 'congregations always large have been steadily growing' and by 1910 levels 'have been well maintained'.⁹⁷ There were some, albeit sparse, positive comments from the East End. In 1900 the incumbent at the parish of St Stephen Spitalfields remarked that 'congregations are increasing'; however a decade later this parish was to merge with the other two Spitalfields' parishes. By 1911 the parish of St Gabriel Bromley reported on an

⁹⁴ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Sep 1902, Dec 1905: The increase in Annual Communicant numbers at All Souls Langham Place is quite noticeable as the comparative figures for 1898 and 1900 were 3207 and 5200 respectively (*London Diocesan Magazine*, Feb 1900). At St Matthew Maida Hill appendix 3 indicates that Easter communicant figures from 1906 onwards were reasonably constant in the two-hundreds.

⁹⁵ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Feb 1913; LMA, P89/PAU3/132, St Paul Portman Square, Monthly Notes 1914 (Apr).

⁹⁶ LMA, P90/TRI/089-090, Holy Trinity Haverstock Hill, Annual Reports 1890-95, 1903 & 1907-15 (1910): this was the same parish that had reported in 1907 of the 'faintest remembrance of a wealth that is long past' but despite the demographic changes attendance had increased; LMA, P90/JNB/76, St John the Baptist Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1912 (May), in addition Annual Communicant levels (Easter-Easter) had grown from 3811 (1908-09) to 4507 (1911-12) LMA, P90/JNB/75-76, Parish Magazines 1911-12 (Easter Report included in 1911 Magazines & May 1912).

⁹⁷ LMA, P83/PAU/65 & 67, St Paul Canonbury, Annual Reports 1891-99 & 1905-11 (1893, 1905 & 1910): population levels showed a slight fluctuation across the period but by 1911 were only 1500 more than they had been in 1891.

‘increase in the number of communicants’.⁹⁸ Two years prior to this in 1909 Winnington-Ingram in a sermon on the parishes in Bethnal Green in general remarked that twenty years previously ‘every church but two was empty, now they were gathering in so many of the people that the nets were breaking’.⁹⁹

More common in the East End were comments that acknowledged the problems of low congregations and a failure to attract new parishioners. In 1896 the topic for discussion at the Spitalfields Deanery Church Conference was ‘Why don’t people go to church?’¹⁰⁰ In 1903 a similar topic ‘The neglect of public worship’ was under discussion at the Clerical and Lay Conference of the Bethnal Green Rural Deanery, and in 1907 St Matthew, the parish church of Bethnal Green, reported on ‘small attendances’.¹⁰¹ Such comments on low attendance were not however just restricted to the East End. Holy Trinity Southall in 1898 reported that the previous Christmas services were ‘not as well attended as we would wish’ and the offertory for the Christmas Coal Fund was described in the same report as a ‘paltry sum’. Matters had not improved by the following Easter when ‘congregations on Easter Day especially at the 11 o’clock service, were rather disappointing’.¹⁰² Holy Trinity Southall is included in appendix 3 and Easter communicant levels for 1899 were 49, by 1914 these had increased to 286. By 1914 two Paddington parishes, St Michael and Christ Church Lancaster Gate, commented

⁹⁸ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jun 1900 & Apr 1911.

⁹⁹ Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Cross Helm, 1974), p. 109.

¹⁰⁰ LMA, DRD/L2/3/1, Deanery of Spitalfields, Church Conference Mar 1886-Oct 1897, p. 473.

¹⁰¹ LMA, DRD/L3/5, Minutes of the Clerical and Lay Conferences of the Rural Deanery of Bethnal Green 1902-23 (Dec 1903); P72/MTW/187, St Matthew Bethnal Green, Churchwardens’ & Sidesmen’s Meetings 1902-10 (12 Dec 1907).

¹⁰² LMA, DRO/141/R/101/002, Holy Trinity Southall, Parish Magazines 1898 (Jan & May): the parish had been created in 1891.

respectively on 'an oasis of the faithful amid a wilderness of empty seats' and that 'the church is not well attended on Sunday evenings'.¹⁰³

The narrative therefore mirrored the Easter communicant numbers with small areas of relative growth, which were lauded possibly because of their rarity. However the concern in respect of the overall lack of attendance and the failure to increase congregation levels was also apparent in the responses to the 1905 Completed Articles of Enquiry and in particular the question 'What are the chief difficulties in the way of your ministry?' In many instances across the diocese the response was the 'indifference' and 'apathy' of the parish population; examples of this ranging through the diocese are; Christ Church West Green Tottenham, St Andrew Hoxton, St Augustine Haggerston, St Barnabas Holloway, St Paul Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Grays' Inn Road, All Saints Edmonton, St James Clapton, All Hallows Bromley, St Paul Shadwell, St Andrew Bethnal Green, Holy Trinity Kilburn, St Philip Buckingham Palace Road, St Matthew Yiewsley Uxbridge, and St James Hampstead Road St Pancras.¹⁰⁴ This list could be replicated many times. Winnington-Ingram echoed these comments during his 1906 Lenten Mission in north London at Highgate in an address to men only when he spoke of his 'brother men [...] choking their spiritual life' through 'simple indifference'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ LMA, P87/MAA/38, St Michael and All Angels Paddington, Parish Magazines 1914 (May); P87/CTC/67, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parish Magazines 1914 (Feb): The comment at St Michael's might merely reflect the fact that the total sittings within the church were 900 and with population levels of less than 3000 throughout the period the pews would be difficult to fill completely. The comments by Christ Church refer to a social problem not encountered in the East-End; 'the chief obstacle no doubt is the hour of dinner; but on the one hand it is no bad thing in the interests of worship and of one's servants to make a difference on Sunday evenings; and on the other hand anyone who is content as I think we all might be to dine at 8 o'clock on Sundays and not to dress will not have the least difficulty in coming to evensong.'

¹⁰⁴ GMS, 17885, xii-4, x-4, x-7, viii-10, v-5, vii-10, iv-1, vi-10, ix-12, xi-10, iii-2, xxvi-23, xxv-48, xxiv-10 & xxiii-18.

¹⁰⁵ A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *A Mission of the Spirit* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. Ltd, 1906), p.12.

Apathy and indifference were as apparent in all social classes. At the 1910 London Diocesan Conference, Frederick Ridgeway, Bishop of Kensington commented that the 'proportion of communicants to population demanded the serious attention of the church and indicated spiritual weakness in all classes of society' and that the 'upper classes seemed to be drifting away from all outward expression of religion'.¹⁰⁶ In the same year Winnington-Ingram gave an address to one hundred West End ladies at a private gathering in which he expressed his concern that 'what ought to be the leading part of my diocese, the West End of London is just the part which gives me the greatest anxiety'.¹⁰⁷

In particular, the lack of men at the services was a major concern. This was not a new problem as 'throughout the nineteenth century women attended church services in greater numbers than men'.¹⁰⁸ Brown writes that 'religious worship was more often than not a highly feminised environment' and that 'the way in which churches were gendered has a complex interaction *with* social class'.¹⁰⁹ It was also a problem that was acknowledged generally at the time. Between January and June 1895 there was correspondence in the *Church Times* on the subject 'Why working men don't come to church.' In the capital the Mudie-Smith figures compiled at the start of the new century highlighted this gender bias at church services across London as evidenced by an analysis of the ratio of women to men at Church of England Sunday services in various Rural Deaneries:¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ *The Times*, 27 May 1910, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Winnington-Ingram, *The Mysteries of God*, p. 308.

¹⁰⁸ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁹ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p.157 (emphasis in the original): his comments concerning class and servants attending church services (p. 156-161) is illustrated by the comments earlier in this chapter in a footnote on Christ Church Lancaster Gate.

¹¹⁰ The census was undertaken between Nov 1902 and Nov 1903, apart from the holiday month of August.

Deanery	Women	Men	Ratio
Poplar	3433	1999	1.71
Bethnal Green	2504	1740	1.43
Marylebone	10891	4051	2.68
Kensington	14577	5362	2.71
Fulham	3163	1993	1.58
Islington	11554	6251	1.84
Willesden	3214	1885	1.70
Ealing	7322	3311	2.21

These do not particularly highlight Brown's class element, they are too general in nature and each deanery covered a range of social classes, but they amply identify the gender imbalance. One of the most successful East End clergymen in attracting congregations to his services, the Rev. John Edwin Watts-Ditchfield vicar of St James the Less Bethnal Green from 1897, acknowledged this gender trend when he commented that 'the church has not as a rule laid itself out to attract and win men'.¹¹¹ Watts-Ditchfield made strenuous efforts to gain the interest of the men in his parish. He tried to combat the 'artificial brightness and warmth of the numerous public houses in the district' by ensuring that the 'men's service was rendered bright and attractive by the introduction of an orchestra'.¹¹²

The lack of male involvement was a common theme throughout the period in the diocese. In 1892 Winnington-Ingram gave a talk to the Chapter of Spitalfields Rural Deanery entitled 'How to get to know the working man' and the reality of the problem was apparent in the individual parishes.¹¹³ The parish of All Saints South Acton had

¹¹¹ Rev. J. E. Watts Ditchfield, 'Men's Services in the Church of England', in *The Religious Life of London*, ed. by R. Mudie-Smith (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904), pp. 302-306 (p. 302); Easter Communicant figures for the parish are shown in Appendix 3. Watts-Ditchfield left St James the Less in 1914 upon his appointment as the first Bishop of Chelmsford.

¹¹² Ellis N. Gowing, *John Edwin Watts-Ditchfield: First Bishop of Chelmsford* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926), p. 29, 58: Gowing was the son-in-law of Watts-Ditchfield and also his successor as vicar of St James the Less.

¹¹³ LMA, DRD/L2/1/1, The Rural Deanery of Spitalfields, Minutes of the Chapter Dec 1885-Nov 1894 (pp. 248-262 even numbers only): the original title to the talk was 'How to get hold of the working man' but this

reported on 'large and earnest congregations' in 1893 but five years later commented that the attendance at the Men's Services were 'not so large as might be expected'. By 1901 communicant levels at the parish had 'again increased considerably during the year' but at the same time comment was made that it 'is strikingly sad to find so many men who are in no club'.¹¹⁴ For a few years over the turn of the century the parish of St James Friern Barnet kept separate records showing total and male communicant levels at the Easter services and these indicate a low percentage of men attending;¹¹⁵

Year	Men	Total	Male %
1895	26	79	32
1896	14	61	22
1897	24	81	29
1898	11	54	20
1899	8	80	10
1900	21	82	25
1901	9	78	11
1903	14	34	41

Towards the west the incumbent at St Saviour Chelsea in 1892 reported that the 'only institution which has disappointed me is the Men's Club which I am sorry to say has collapsed'.¹¹⁶ Later in 1910 the vicar at Holy Trinity Brompton commented that 'the work among men – in clubs and otherwise – has never satisfied me in this parish'.¹¹⁷

Local attempts to attract the recalcitrant male included the marketing in 1902 of 'straight manly talks' and at one Open Air Service for Men in 1907 a commitment that 'the singing of the hymns will be accompanied by the Hornsey Military Band'; a manoeuvre which whilst possibly more military in display and appearance was reminiscent of Watts-

was changed by Winnington-Ingram on the basis that the church was so out of touch with the population in the East End that they had to 'know the man' before even trying to get them to attend the church services.

¹¹⁴ LMA, DRO56/027, All Saints South Acton, Reports 1893-1908 (1893, 1898 & 1901).

¹¹⁵ LMA, DRO/12/1/A3/1A-2, St James Friern Barnet, Register of Services 1895-1914.

¹¹⁶ LMA, P74/SAV/100, St Saviour Chelsea, Parochial Reports 1892-1907 (1892) p. 13: the reasons given for the 'collapse' were; competition, poor premises and the failure to attract and retain men.

¹¹⁷ LMA, P84/TRI2/152, Holy Trinity Brompton, Annual Report 1910.

Ditchfield's use of an orchestra.¹¹⁸ It also of course linked an aspect of the military culture with the local parish church, and as discussed in the previous chapter highlighted the perceived military nature of pre-war masculinity.

The problem of relating to the local male was exacerbated in certain suburbs by the growing number of commuters who were absent from the parish during the day. In 1905 the vicar of the parish of St John Greenhill, in Willesden deanery commented that 'my men are in London every day when I could see them, when I can't visit them they are at home', a concern mirrored at St Mary Hornsey where 'all the men are absent all day'.¹¹⁹ The existence of the suburban commuter was also acknowledged in 1910 by Winnington-Ingram when in a series of addresses to men only in Tottenham, he spoke of 'every time you go to the City – I suppose most of you go a good many days in the week' and at Enfield he assumed in addressing his audience that 'you may meet people up in the City where you go'.¹²⁰

One other problem was the increase in recreational activities on a Sunday and in particular the playing of golf. In 1905 the parish of St Paul Winchmore Hill listed 'golf' and St Mary Enfield and Holy Trinity Northwood 'Sunday golf' as one of the main difficulties facing them.¹²¹ The impact of golf was not restricted to the wealthier parishes, as the parish of Holy Innocents Neasden Cum Kingsbury blamed 'Sunday work [...] some lads [work] as caddies'.¹²² Golf continued to be an issue in certain sectors of the diocese and in his Guildhall Addresses to businessmen in the City of London in 1912

¹¹⁸ LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, St James the Great Bethnal Green, Scrapbook: notice in respect of a Pioneer Mission in a tent adjoining the church in 1902; DRO/53/251, St Paul Haringay, Scrapbook 1907-14: Programme for the Church of England Open Air Service for Men to be held on 16 Jun 1907 at Finsbury Park.

¹¹⁹ GMS, 17885, xxvi-6 & xix-16.

¹²⁰ Winnington-Ingram, *The Mysteries of God*, p. 263, 285.

¹²¹ GMS, 17885, iv-13, iv-25 & xxvi-10.

¹²² GMS, 17885, xxvi-29.

Winnington-Ingram rebuked his audience by reminding them that 'you know you were much happier when you took the boys to church on Sunday mornings instead of spending Sunday morning at golf'.¹²³ He returned to the theme the following year in 'Sermons to Church Workers' when he highlighted the harmfulness of using caddies on a Sunday; 'on one of the fashionable golf-links which I visited recently, I was told that on one Sunday morning there were two hundred players each with someone carrying his or her clubs. Well, I am not saying it is a sin to play a game of golf on Sunday but I do say it is a sin to do so if it injures the spiritual life of others'.¹²⁴ These pleas by Winnington-Ingram may well have gone unheeded as golf, together with the growth in other sports were as John Tosh argues 'primarily a masculine affair' and 'took men out of the home,' in their flight from domesticity that was discussed in chapter 2.¹²⁵ Tosh considers that by the turn of the century manhood was in flight from the domestication of the home and 'sport held out a reassurance of an alternative way of life to the feminized home,' as such it is unlikely that the male would have found similar reassurance in a religious environment, which had also been feminized.¹²⁶ Sport and athleticism had therefore become a hindrance to involvement in the church compared with the perceived positive influence of the Oxbridge athletes discussed in the previous chapter. This change may well have been a reflection of the differing social standings of the poorer sections of society attracted by the athletes and those that participated in golf. Other recreational activities, examples of the 'leisure revolution' apparent between 1870 and 1914, were considered detrimental to

¹²³ Winnington-Ingram, *The Attractiveness of Goodness*, p. 134: Winnington-Ingram also played golf which according to his biographer 'was his game' (S. C. Carpenter, *Winnington-Ingram: The Biography of Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram Bishop of London 1901-39* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), p. 78).

¹²⁴ Winnington-Ingram, *The Eyes of Flame*, p. 135.

¹²⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 188.

¹²⁶ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p. 188.

the ability of the local parish to attract parishioners.¹²⁷ The parish of St Peter Hammersmith complained of 'steam boats and a band in the park' whilst the parish of St Mary Sunbury-on-Thames of the 'river and other pleasures'.¹²⁸

Whilst the Church of England was encountering problems in inter-relating to the urban surroundings its physical presence within London was tangible particularly in the older parts of the city through its churches and places of worship. In certain areas another major physical presence and influence was that of the military. London in places was a highly militarised space. Reflecting their historical roots these militarised areas were also in the older parts of the city nestling close to the other power elites of monarchy and government. The military were situated in Westminster close to Buckingham Palace and the War Office and around two of the larger green spaces in the metropolis; Hyde Park and Regent's Park. These latter locations were perfect for the exercise and training of horses. In 1891 the Cavalry of the 1st and 2nd Life Guards were based at Regent's Park and Hyde Park respectively with the Royal Horse Guards based at Windsor.¹²⁹ By 1914 the 1st Life Guards had moved to Hyde Park, the 2nd Life Guards to Windsor and the Royal Horse Guards to Regent's Park.¹³⁰ There was also a substantial presence on the northern fringes of the City of London at Bunhill Row where the Hon. Artillery Company was based.¹³¹ To the west of London there was also a military presence on Hounslow

¹²⁷ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 196; see also Erdozian, *The Problem of Pleasure*.

¹²⁸ GMS, 17885 xvi-7; xviii-17.

¹²⁹ *Army List*, Mar 1891 (76-78).

¹³⁰ *Army List*, Aug 1914 (386-390).

¹³¹ *Army List*, Mar 1891 (217i) & Aug 1914 (655).

Heath; in 1891 and 1901 Hounslow was a base utilised by the Cavalry and Hussars but by 1914 it was also a 'command' location for parts of the Territorial Force.¹³²

In addition to these larger units there were local battalions of initially the Volunteers then later the Territorial Force based at various parts of the diocese; a number of these were not permanent and were subject to change of location. In Poplar for example in 1890 there was no local military presence but by 1901 the 2nd (The Tower Hamlets) Battalion The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own) Volunteers was based at 66 Tredegar Road Bow and by 1914 this had been replaced by the 17th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Poplar & Stepney Rifles) Infantry Territorial Force.¹³³ In the City of London, the 1st London Artillery Volunteers (City of London) Royal Artillery Volunteers were based at Staines House Barbican in 1891 and 1901 but no equivalent Territorial Force was listed at that address in 1914.¹³⁴ In 1891 in St Pancras deanery the 17th Volunteer Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) was based at Pratt Street but by 1901 the Battalion had moved to High Street Camden and by 1914 the 19th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (St Pancras) Infantry Territorial Force had replaced it at that address.¹³⁵ Further to the west in Fulham in 1891, the headquarters and rifle ground of the South Middlesex Volunteers was based at Beaufort House, but by 1901 these had moved to a nearby address in Lillie Road where the 2nd (South Middlesex) The King's Royal Rifle Corps Volunteer Battalion was also located. By 1914 Lillie Road was no longer used but the 7th London Brigade

¹³² *Army List*, Mar 1891 (99): 14th King's Hussars Cavalry & Dec 1901 (161): 10th (Prince of Wales Own Royal) Hussars Cavalry; & Aug 1914 (434): 19th (Queen Alexandra's Own Royal) Hussars Cavalry & (1662) Home Counties Division Army Service Corps Territorial Force.

¹³³ *Army List*, Dec 1901 (1132b) & Aug 1914 (1596).

¹³⁴ *Army List*, Mar 1891 (221) & Dec 1901 (306).

¹³⁵ *Army List*, Mar 1891 (473) & Dec 1901 (965) & Aug 1914 (1598).

Royal Field Artillery Territorial Force was based at High Street Fulham.¹³⁶ Whilst the actual units stationed at a particular location changed, the overall military presence continued, particularly at the headquarters level. There was however a more fluid presence at a local battalion level. The influence of the military presence was probably more noticeable at those sites that catered for the Volunteers and Territorial Force because of the involvement of local civilians in these organisations. The headquarters with their officer and regular soldier bias would have had less interaction with the local population.

In the previous chapter the influences on the church were discussed as it attempted to relate to the challenges of the changing environment and the social and gender issues of the pre-war years. In this chapter the specific problems and challenges faced within the diocese of London have been discussed in order to place the diocese in its correct secular and social environment. Chapter 6 will discuss in detail the inter-relationship between the London military presence and the hierarchy and local parish communities of the Church of England within the diocese. The next chapter will consider various sectors and organisations of pre-war England which were advocates and practitioners of aspects of a militarised culture and the church's general involvement, either pro-active or re-active with these will be assessed.

¹³⁶ *Army List*, Mar 1891 (631) & Dec 1901 (976) & Aug 1914 (704).

CHAPTER 4

The Clergy, the Public Schools, the Barrack Square and Conscription

In chapter one an analysis of the various definitions of militarism was undertaken, and an assessment was made of the responses of society immediately upon the outbreak of war to see whether these were the actions of a society in which militarism was prevalent. This chapter will take forward these issues by considering certain organisations and assessing how their development and popular support could give an insight into the levels of militarism within pre-war society. It will also discuss how the Church of England related to these organisations and their development and whether any support was proactive or merely a response to other influences. The organisations are the army, including the Volunteer/Territorial sector, the public schools and the Officer Training Corps (OTC), and the National Service League (NSL).

Despite the problems highlighted by the Boer War, when the 'regular army's manpower problems were cruelly exposed', in the years prior to 1914 the army was still unable to reach or sustain its establishment.¹ By May 1914 the 'regular army was 10932 men, or approximately 6 per cent short of its peacetime establishment' and the required

¹ Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 73.

'annual intake of 34,000 to 35,000 recruits' had only been achieved in 1907-08.² In January 1913 one source showed the regular army as being comprised of 167,350 men which, read in conjunction with Spiers' six per cent shortage, would imply an establishment of just over 180,000.³ The position just prior to the outbreak of war was summarised succinctly by Field Marshal Roberts when he proclaimed that 'the Regular Army in the United Kingdom is so short of men.'⁴ In addition by 1914 the army's budget had been 'static since 1906.'⁵ Both the fact that the budget was static and the failure to reach, let alone sustain, establishment levels must imply a lack of commitment both at governmental and civilian level to the armed forces which would raise doubts as to the support for the military and hence for the concept of militarism within society generally.

The position with the Territorial Force, and its predecessor the Volunteers was no different. The post-Boer War establishment of the Volunteers was 348,120, but in the early years of the twentieth century numbers never exceeded 280,000, with a reduction evident year on year between 1901 and 1903; years that included the end of the Boer War in May 1902.⁶ Just prior to its demise in 1908 the number of Volunteers had declined to 224,217.⁷ After replacing the Volunteers, the Territorial Force had an establishment of

² Edward M. Spiers, 'The Regular Army in 1914', in *A Nation in Arms: A Social Study of the British Army in the First World War*, ed. by Ian F. W. Beckett and Keith Simpson (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Select, 2004), pp. 37-61 (p. 44).

³ *The Territorial Cadet Magazine and Naval Cadets Journal*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (Jan 1913), p. 182; In addition there is an interesting short article by Theodore Ropp, 'Conscription in Great Britain 1900-1914: A Failure in Civil-Military Communication', *Military Affairs*, Vol. 20 No. 2 (Summer 1956), 71-76. However the article is confusing on regular army levels which it puts as 240,000 in 1860 (the Indian Mutiny) and 247,000 in 1913 which seem high compared with other sources.

⁴ Field Marshall Earl Roberts, 'Our Dwindling Army', *Nineteenth Century And After*, Vol. XIX-XX, (Aug 1914), 249-255 (p. 249).

⁵ Stevenson, *The History of the First World War*, p. 48.

⁶ *National Service Journal*, Mar 1904; the actual numbers are; Jan 1901: 277,910, Jan 1902: 250,990 & Jan 1903: 241,280.

⁷ Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, p. 217.

312,000 but this was never achieved.⁸ By the beginning of 1913 numbers in the Territorial Force were 263,620.⁹ In November that year the Council of the County Territorial Associations advised the Prime Minister that 'the total Territorial strength in any year since the passing of the Act in 1907 was less than the total number in the last year of the Volunteers; the deficiency on paper was approximately 1,400 officers and 66,000 other ranks'.¹⁰ W. J. Reader sums up the pre-war position by stating that by 1913 'the number of ardent youths in the Territorial Force was falling'.¹¹ Therefore in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war neither the regular army nor the Territorial Force were up to muster.

This national shortage in the Territorial Force was mirrored in London where numbers never reached its establishment of 27,550.¹² The numbers over the five years preceding the First World War were:¹³

Date	Officers	Men	Total
1/1909	769	15212	15981
3/1909	801	24094	24895
7/1910	894	23560	24475
10/1911	861	21764	22625
6/1912	858	21996	22854
4/1913	797	18776	19573
3/1914	795	20355	21150

⁸ Spiers, 'The Regular Army', p. 57.

⁹ *The Territorial Cadet Magazine and Naval Cadets Journal*, Vol. 1 Issue 2 (Jan 1913), p. 182: the establishment figure was put at 315,000 slightly higher than that quoted by Spiers.

¹⁰ *The Times*, 27 Nov 1913, p. 8: Report on deputation from the Council's visit to Downing Street which also stated that 'last years' returns showed that 1,362 officers and 33,350 men failed to attend camp.' The fact that the 263,620 was a lower figure than that of 'the last year of the Volunteers' does imply that the establishment of the Volunteers had increased by 1907 from its establishment level of 241,280 in January 1903.

¹¹ W. J. Reader, *'At Duty's Call': A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 106.

¹² LMA, A/TA/14, Territorial Force, Transactions General Purposes Committee Proceedings May 1911 – July 1913 and Special Meeting of Association on Recruiting Dated 10 May 1911.

¹³ LMA, A/TA/1, Territorial Force, Minutes of Proceedings – County Association for the County of London, 14 Jan 1908 – 30 March 1914: Minutes dated; 26 Mar 1909, 13 Jul 1910, 23 Nov 1911, 13 Jun 1912, 17 Apr 1913, 30 Mar 1914.

The increase over the first quarter of 1909 was attributed to the 'valuable assistance [...] of the press, especially on the part of the *Daily Mail*', and appeals to both the 'mayors of metropolitan boroughs' and 'employers'.¹⁴ Conversely the reduction in numbers seen by 1913 was due to the 'expiration of engagements of men enlisted' in 1909.¹⁵ In 1913 therefore at its low point the Territorial Force in London was less than seventy-five percent of its establishment; hardly a sign of a strident militarism within the capital's populace. In its 1913 Report the National Service League (NSL) highlighted this lack of support for the Territorial Force when it commented that the borough of Hampstead 'will not maintain at its proper strength a single company of a Territorial regiment'.¹⁶ The reasons given at the 1911 'recruiting' meeting for the shortage of officers and men included: training places being considered too far out of London, with a resultant impact upon cost and time, the lack of financial incentive to join, and the general increase in employment. In addition a lack of profile is mentioned, with specific reference to the recent coronation procession, where only a small representation of the Territorial Force was allowed, and finally the perceived unpatriotic spirit of the small employers of labour hindered those wishing to join.¹⁷ Business requirements being given priority over soldiering was perhaps a further indicator of the lack of support for the military culture

¹⁴ LMA, A/TA/1, Territorial Force, Minutes of Proceedings – County Association for the County of London, 14 Jan 1908 – 30 March 1914: Minute dated 26 Mar 1909.

¹⁵ LMA, A/TA/1, Territorial Force, Minutes of Proceedings – County Association for the County of London, 14 Jan 1908 – 30 March 1914: Minute dated 17 Apr 1913.

¹⁶ *The National Service League 11th Annual Report* 31 March 1913.

¹⁷ LMA, A/TA/14, Minutes of Recruiting Meeting 10 May 1911. The latter point concerning employers of labour mirrored a similar problem faced by the LDCLB in the 1890s and in the days just before August 1914. In September 1897 the Church Lads' Brigade magazine *The Brigade* in an article 'Royal Review in Hyde Park' commented that 'The London Diocesan Church Lads' Brigade at the last could not obtain a sufficient muster to enable them to take part in this great event [...] we must confess we are surprised that employers of labour on the North of the Thames could not see their way to let the lads off work.' In 1914 reporting on the Summer Camp the parish magazine of St Alban Fulham reported that 'we only supplied 32 a very low number for us indeed but employers have proved more obdurate this year than usual.' (LMA, P77/ALB/074, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep)).

within sectors of London's population. Generally, these are rather prosaic reasons, which would not appear to reflect a society in which the spirit of militarism was overly redolent. There was also a concern expressed about the Territorial Force nationally that in 'many districts the local Territorial Force contingent has little enough of the middle-class element helping to sustain it'.¹⁸ These concerns over the social make-up of the Territorial Force were reflected in the problems encountered within the diocese of London in respect of the recruitment of suitable 'officer material' for both the LDCLB and the LDBS, and are fully discussed in chapter 6.

However if the recruitment and establishment level figures of the army and the Territorial Force were low there was one organisation where numbers grew throughout the pre-war years; the Officer Training Corps (OTC).¹⁹ The OTC was formed in 1908 and consisted of senior and junior divisions, the former based at universities and the later at schools, primarily public ones. Otley comments that it was an organisation 'to train young men of the upper middle class'.²⁰ This view was reflected in the objects of the organisation: the primary object was to produce 'officers for the Special Reserve of all arms [...] who will on general mobilisation being ordered be available to bring the Expeditionary Force up to war strength' and the secondary object was 'to feed the officer ranks of the Territorial Force'.²¹ These objects would ensure that members of the OTC would 'become familiarised with the thought and method of the regular army'; the equivalent of Summers' 'pervasive range of military or militaristic modes of thinking'.²² The lack of the 'middle-class element' and actual figures in respect of ex-OTC cadets

¹⁸ *The Territorial Cadet Magazine*, Vol. 1 Issue 2 (31 Oct 1912), p. 9.

¹⁹ *The Times* 19 Mar 1908, p. 5 has an excellent introduction to the new organisation.

²⁰ Otley, 'Militarism and Militarisation in the Public Schools' p. 330.

²¹ *The Officer Training Corp Year Book and Diary 1913* (London: Raglan Press, 1913).

²² *The Officer Training Corp Year Book and Diary*; Summers 'Militarism in Britain', p. 105.

taking up commissions in the army or Territorial Force would also suggest that both objects were limited in their success. According to the 1913 *OTC Year Book* every year approximately 6000 cadets left the OTC however by 1913 the number of ex-cadets in the Territorial Force totalled 771 with a further 409 in the Special Reserves. These figures appear low and indicate that the objectives of the OTC had not been met in its early years.²³ More detailed figures of cadets proceeding to commissions were available through to December 1913 and, whilst these also appeared minimal, they did indicate an increase year on year; commensurate perhaps with the growing maturity of the OTC in its formative years:²⁴

Date	TF	Spec Res
Prior to 7/1910	123	17
7/1910-6/1911	265	140
7/1911-6/1912	298	215
7/1912-6/1913	451	257
7/1913-12/1913	367	136

When viewed as a percentage of total numbers of officers in the Territorial Force, both actual and establishment, the above levels seem small but over the years they do confirm that the OTC would have been an increasing, albeit small, conduit of supply. Interestingly there were more commissions in the Territorial Force than in the Special Reserves and this reversal of the objects of the OTC might reflect a growing awareness of the Territorial Force in the years after its creation.

²³ The OTC had according to the *Year Book 1913* had 'a working existence of rather over three and a half years' and hence there would have been at least 15,000 ex-cadets available.

²⁴ *The Contingent: The Journal of the Officer Training Corps*, Vol. 1 No. 3 (June 1914).

Initial growth in OTC numbers was apparent in the years up to 1911 after which date the numbers were reasonably steady:²⁵

	Oct 1908	Apr 1909	Oct 1911	Oct 1912	Oct 1913	Aug 1914
Senior Contingents (Corps)	9	12	20	23		23
Officers		94	178	193		
Cadets		3083	5654	6194	5457	
Junior Contingents (Corps)	85	123	156	157		166
Officers		311	452	489		
Cadets		13814	18047	19235	21359	

In view of these numbers, Searle's estimates for 1914 of 'about 20,000 schoolboys and 5000 undergraduates enrolled in the OTC' appear accurate.²⁶ The footprint of the OTC at Oxbridge was substantial with Strachan arguing that by 1914 thirty-three percent of Oxford undergraduates were members.²⁷ There were other examples of the close relationship between the OTC and Oxbridge; at Cambridge in 1914 a proposal was being considered that an undergraduate had to qualify in military training in order to obtain a degree.²⁸ The military synergy between the OTC and the army was highlighted at Oxford in July 1914 when 'an officer on the active list' was appointed to command the university's OTC'.²⁹

Oxbridge therefore was very supportive of the OTC and its military connections. Traditionally throughout the period under discussion the public schools had been associated with the army. In 1891 at Malvern 'four boys had passed directly from the army class into Woolwich or Sandhurst' and in 1913 Edward Glyn, Bishop of

²⁵ The October 1908 and August 1914 figures are from Worthington, 'Socialization, Militarization and Officer Recruiting', p. 95; 1909-1913 figures from *The Contingent: The Journal of the Officer Training Corps*, Vol. 1 No. 3 (June 1914).

²⁶ Searle, *A New England?* p. 510.

²⁷ Strachan, *The Outbreak of the First World War*, p. 187.

²⁸ T. F. C. Huddleston & C. T. Heycock, 'National Security: Military Training at the Universities', *Nineteenth Century and After* (Mar 1914) 682-686.

²⁹ *The Times*, 6 July 1914, p. 4: Article 'The Leisure of the 'Long' – End of Summer Term at Oxford' (a poignant title to say the least).

Peterborough 'commented favourably upon the exceptional number of scholars who left Oakham to take up the military profession'.³⁰ Prior to the introduction of the OTC the public schools had been involved with the less structured cadet movement. The *Army List* for March 1891 showed that there were 39 different Cadet Corps, mainly from schools; for example Bedford Grammar, Bradfield, Dulwich, Sherborne and Uppingham, which were associated with specific regiments and Volunteer battalions. There were also other school cadets corps not affiliated to local army units that were not included in the *Army List*. Trent College's cadet corps for instance, had been introduced into the school in the 1870s and had then been 'revived in 1886' and it continued until August 1908 when it became 'officially a unit in the OTC'.³¹ Ellesmere School in Shropshire formed a cadet corps in 1900, which was attached to the 2nd Volunteer Battalion of the Shropshire Light Infantry, and took part in shooting competitions and Field Days from 1901 onwards; by the end of the decade the corps had become an OTC.³² In 1892 Wolverhampton Grammar School built a gymnasium, which 'would serve also as a drill hall for the use of the Cadet Corps which was to be raised in the school,' and in 1906 a Rifle Club was started and 'this enterprise reached its logical conclusion when in February 1911 an Officers' Training Corps was formed'.³³

The OTC had been specifically targeted at the universities and public schools and by 1914 many school cadet forces had been assimilated within that organisation. These included not only Eton College, Harrow, Shrewsbury and Uppingham but also less well

³⁰ *The Times*, 30 Jun 1891, p. 12: Report on Malvern Speech Day; 29 Jul 1913, p. 4: Report on Oakham School Speech Day, in the same article Ardingly College reports an OTC strength of 165.

³¹ M. A. J. Tarver, *Trent College 1868-1927: A Rough Sketch* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1929), p. 118, 122.

³² P. A. Hall, ed., *Fifty Years of Ellesmere 1884-1934* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1934), p. 47 & 87.

³³ Gerald Poynton Mander, *The History of Wolverhampton Grammar School* (Wolverhampton: Steers Ltd, 1913), Note 2 on p. 270, & p. 271.

known educational establishments; West Buckland, Bury Grammar, Dover College and St Lawrence College Ramsgate.³⁴ However other schools retained the traditional Cadet Corps; Macclesfield Grammar School, Macclesfield Industrial School, Kilburn Grammar School and King's School Peterborough being examples.³⁵ These were all affiliated to units of the Territorial Force as were other Cadet Corps that represented towns, examples being; New Brighton, Cowley and Brierley Hill, or specific organisations; Bradford Postal Telegraph Messengers being an example. Grammar schools therefore were represented in both the OTC and the Cadet Corps. However despite this, the OTC did mark a separation of the public schools and universities from other sectors of society, which only underlined the elitism implied in Otley's comment that the OTC was aimed at the upper middle-classes.³⁶ The social divide between the two organisations was also apparent in a discussion held in 1913 concerning the potential development of the Cadet Corps along similar lines to the senior and junior divisions of the OTC. In comparison to Otley's upper middle-classes the discussion described the Cadet Corps as being comprised of 'such men' as were 'to be found among the ranks of bank cashiers, solicitors' articled pupils, estate agents, clerks in good mercantile houses'.³⁷

Worthington considers that the OTC marked a 'fundamental change in the relationship between the public schools and the army', through the formalisation and 'cementing' of a long-standing bond: part of the school or university was under the direct control of the War Office.³⁸ The military training of the schoolboy or undergraduate,

³⁴ *Army List*, Aug 1914

³⁵ *Army List*, Aug 1914

³⁶ Otley, 'Militarism and Militarization', p. 330.

³⁷ J. Atkinson, 'A National Cadet Army', *Royal United Service Institution Journal*, Vol. 57 No. 1 (Jan/Jun 1913), 773-796 (p. 779): Atkinson was a captain in the Territorial Force. The assumption here was that Atkinson was referring to those Cadet Corps that were not associated with the education sector.

³⁸ Worthington, 'Socialization, Militarization and Officer Recruiting', p. 90.

which would formally count as ‘military training’, was under the auspices of the Chief of the General Staff. This integrated approach to training highlighted and intensified the militarisation of the public schools in the period prior to the First World War. One incident that emphasised the ‘military’ view the War Office took of the OTC occurred in 1913. A request by the Mayor of Marlborough for the local Marlborough School OTC to take part in the town’s Empire Day celebrations was refused on the basis that the Army Council was ‘unable to sanction any portion of *his Majesty’s forces* taking part in celebrations of an unofficial character’ and ‘on the ground that the ceremony was not a *military one*’.³⁹

Whilst the OTC formalised the relationship between the army and the educational sector many of the activities undertaken by the cadets prior to 1908 continued in similar fashion after that date. In the 1890s the school Cadet Corps at Trent College was shooting with ‘Morris Tubes’⁴⁰ and by 1906 the cadets were using Robin Hood’s Rifle Range near Trent Station.⁴¹ In the same year ‘in pursuance of our resolve to take Lord Roberts’ advice to heart and not allow the effects of the Boer War panic to die out [...] military drill is in full swing,’ with company drill held twice weekly. Also in 1906 the War Office sent two rifles to the cadets. The following year saw the first shooting competition with ‘service rifles’ and the first camp under the command of Captain Bradwell of the Sherwood Forresters. In August 1908 the Cadet Corps officially became a unit in the OTC; activities continued much as before. In 1908 the armoury was built, although the plans must have been in place prior to that date. By May the following year uniforms

³⁹ *The Times*, 18 Apr 1913, p. 6 & 26 May 1913, p. 5 (the emphasis is mine).

⁴⁰ ‘Morris Tubes’ were aiming tubes fitted to the Martini-Henri Rifle and had been introduced by the War Department in the mid 1880s.

⁴¹ All quotes and references are from Tarver, *Trent College 1868-1927*, Chapter VI, ‘The Corps’, pp. 118-125

were received and the first Field Day with other schools was held; followed quickly by two more. In the 1909 winter-term Sergeant-Major Watts, late of the Sherwood Foresters arrived to become 'father of the Trent corps' a man who 'knew regimental life and routine from A to Z'.

Whilst the creation of the OTC was as Worthington argues a 'formalisation' of a 'long-standing bond' the public schools and universities had been imbued with elements of militarism prior to the Edwardian period with a range of activities that changed little after 1908.⁴² Other commentators, Best being one example, consider that the school cadet corps 'came into its own after the Boer War,' and by inference prior to 1908.⁴³ Searle also argues that it was mainly during the 'Edwardian decade that the public schools through their cadet forces began to develop distinctively militaristic features' and he considered Rev. Edmond Warre, headmaster of Eton from 1884 until 1905 as 'the trendsetter'; a time span that preceded the OTC.⁴⁴ It could be argued, that it was because the Edwardian educational mindset had changed after the Boer War, that the implementation of the OTC went ahead and Worthington was correct when he stated that the 'OTC was just one manifestation of a general attempt to "militarise" society'.⁴⁵ However the military element within the educational establishments was not always as popular and influential as Searle and others would infer. At the City of London School the experience of the Cadet Corps was that, after a period of 'first enthusiasm [...] numbers fell in the first year;' by 1903 they stood at ninety-three and had reduced to

⁴² Worthington, 'Socialization, Militarization and Officer Recruiting', p. 90.

⁴³ Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School', p. 141.

⁴⁴ Searle, *A New England?*, p. 36.

⁴⁵ Worthington, 'Socialization, Militarization and Officer Recruiting', p. 90.

forty-nine in 1905.⁴⁶ Also at the same school after the formation of the OTC, and prior to the outbreak of war, 'there were many boys who [...] saw no reason for amateur soldiering; and there were a number who very honestly disliked military training as a threat to world peace'.⁴⁷ What the OTC did highlight was the concept of a progression, a mapped pathway through which the schoolboy or the undergraduate could proceed. Whilst in this instance it was aimed specifically at the public schoolboy in a different guise such a 'pathway' had been and would be attempted in certain instances within the diocese of London. It was one of the themes of the various brigade and scout movements and initiatives that are discussed in general in the next chapters.

In all of the three institutions discussed above; the army, the Volunteers/Territorial Force and the public schools, clergy from the Church of England had a prime role to play; being seen as part of the 'management structure'. In the case of the army and the Volunteers/Territorials the clergy's main role was that of army chaplain. Chaplains were both fulltime, and formed part of the Army Chaplains' Department, or were part-time, where their main role was within the church whilst their army chaplain role was to be part of the officer corps of a battalion of normally the Volunteers and Territorials. Both were included in the monthly *Army Lists* together with the Medical Officers, Quarter-Masters, Adjutants, Lieutenants, Captains and Colonels. In the educational sector their role as 'management' was more direct and hands-on as schoolmasters and headmasters.

⁴⁶ A. E. Douglas-Smith, *The History of the City of London School 1442-1837-1937* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1937), p. 329

⁴⁷ Douglas-Smith, *The History of the City of London School*, p. 376: quoting from the reminiscences of an old boy who for anonymity's sake is referred to as 'D'. The quote ends 'the War changed all that, of course, and jingo and pacifist fell in side by side....' (this I think bears out my comment earlier that to judge the support for militarism in England the views of people prior to 4 Aug 1914 are of prime importance).

The army chaplain had been a constant and longstanding area of direct involvement by the church in the armed forces. The role of the army chaplain could be that of a comforter or an exhorter.⁴⁸ Although these functions were not totally mutually exclusive, an exhorter who justified the actions of the military man would surely give comfort. In the context of this thesis the exhorter would be seen as mirroring and strengthening the militaristic strains within certain elements of society. The comforter however was 'concerned with the moral and spiritual welfare of the Army'.⁴⁹ He was a man who 'shared the fatigues of marches, often relieved the tired soldier of his gun, tended and cheered him in sickness and consoled him in death'.⁵⁰ In reality this description of duties would have been difficult to have put into practice in the first months of the First World War as chaplains were refused access to the front line in case they became casualties themselves, which was considered to be an event that would lower the morale of the troops. It was only in the first half of 1916 that 'earlier restrictions on the movements of chaplains had been lifted'.⁵¹ In 1901 it would seem from comments made by the Chaplain General that the exhorter was to the fore, when he expressed deep concern and 'dreaded a military spirit taking possession of Christ's Ambassadors'; a concern that he knew 'differed from some chaplains [...] in this matter'.⁵² A strange phrase to use that can only reflect the seriousness with which he saw the situation and his concern at what he perceived to be the growing exhortations towards militarism among the army chaplains.

⁴⁸ I am indebted to a review in the *Catholic Historical Review* Vol. 91 Issue 1 (Jan 2005) 122-123 for this excellent summary of the duality of the chaplains' role.

⁴⁹ Rev. H. W. Blackburne 'Existing Organisation and Work of The Royal Army Chaplains' Department', *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute*, Vol. 67 (Feb-Nov 1922), 421-433 (p. 421).

⁵⁰ *The Times*, 27 Sep 1900, p. 7: Comments made by Colonel Jeff at the Church Congress on the subject 'War: Attitude and Duties of the Church'

⁵¹ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 97.

⁵² *The Times*, 4 Oct 1901, p. 6 Report on Church Congress.

The number of fulltime chaplains in the Army Chaplains' Department had increased substantially since the Crimean War, and included a range of denominations. The March 1891 *Army List* for the Department included 56 Anglicans, 16 Roman Catholics, and 6 Presbyterians, by the August 1914 *Army List* these numbers had increased to; 96 Anglicans, 21 Roman Catholics, 18 Presbyterians, 15 Wesleyans, and 2 Baptists/Congregationalists.⁵³ Whilst therefore by 1914 the range of denominations covered by the department had increased the bias was still heavily in favour of the Church of England. In addition the administration of the department by the War Office prior to 1914 also reflected this bias. The Church of England chaplains were administered by the Chaplain General whilst the other denominations had a 'lay civil servant'.⁵⁴ This preponderance of Church of England chaplains was reflected in the numbers sent in the initial response to the Boer War and the events of August 1914. Forty three Chaplains were sent to South Africa in 1900 and of these twenty-five were Anglicans, eight Roman Catholics, six Presbyterians and four Wesleyans⁵⁵ In the initial response to the outbreak of war in 1914 'there were five Chaplains in each of the original divisions that went to France: three Anglicans, one Roman Catholic and one either Church of Scotland or Wesleyan'.⁵⁶ These ratios mirrored the religious denominations of the serving soldier. In 1901 the Chaplain General reported to the Church Congress that it was estimated that 68% of soldiers were Anglicans, 18% Roman Catholic, 7% Presbyterian and 5%

⁵³ These figures include 'temporary' and 'acting' army chaplains, but not those attached to the Territorial Force. These differ slightly from those of Snape for August 1914 (*God and the British Soldier*, p. 89) who gives the following; Church of England 89, Roman Catholic 17 and Presbyterian 11. The differences could be due to the *Army List* reflecting the actual position as at 31 July and Snape having actual August figures and the numbers having changed due to the outbreak of war. However, overall the ratios are similar.

⁵⁴ Blackburne, 'Existing Organisation', p. 422.

⁵⁵ *The Times*, 3 Feb 1900, p. 12.

⁵⁶ Blackburne, 'Existing Organisation', p. 422-3.

Wesleyans; in addition if only 'English' soldiers were counted 90% professed to be members of the Church of England.⁵⁷

The part-time chaplains attached to Volunteer, and later Territorial Force, Battalions were also mainly Church of England although there were representatives from other denominations.⁵⁸ By July 1914 there were in excess of 300 Anglican clergy who acted as chaplains for various regiments and units in England and Wales, the majority were affiliated to Territorial Force Battalions. Comparable figures are not available from the March 1891 *Army List* as, apart from the Army Chaplains' Department, this does not differentiate between the various denominations of the chaplains. However most of the clergy involved were from local parishes within the catchment area of the Battalion.

Examples were:⁵⁹

- Charles Wareing Bardsley, vicar of St Mary Ulverston, was chaplain with the 1st Volunteer Battalion The King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment) also based in Ulverston.
- James Wareing Bardsley, vicar of St Peter Huddersfield, was chaplain with the 2nd Volunteer Battalion The Duke of Wellington's (West Riding Regiment) also based in Huddersfield.
- Alfred Julius James Cachemaille, vicar of St Mark Oldham, was chaplain with the 6th Volunteer Battalion The Manchester Regiment, also based in Oldham.
- Frank Edward Hopwood, vicar of St Mary Bury, was chaplain with the 1st Volunteer Battalion The Lancashire Fusiliers also based in Bury.

⁵⁷ *The Times*, 4 Oct 1901, p. 6: similar percentages are discussed in Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 72 in respect of the composition of the 2nd Battalion Royal Welch Fusiliers at the start of the twentieth century.

⁵⁸ Chapter 6 includes a discussion on process for appointing an army chaplain to the auxiliary forces.

⁵⁹ *Army List*, Mar 1891 (593-636).

By 1914 this association with a local army unit was still the norm, with the Territorial Force having replaced the Volunteer Battalion. Examples were:⁶⁰

- Charles Ernest Dixon, vicar of St Jude Halifax, was chaplain with the 4th Battalion The Duke of Wellington's (West Riding Regiment) Territorial Force also based in Halifax.
- Gerard Holmes Gore, vicar St Werburgh Derby, was chaplain with the Derbyshire Yeomanry Territorial Force also based in Derby.
- William Charles Hawksley, vicar of All Saints Portsea, was chaplain with the Hampshire Fortress Engineers Royal Engineers Territorial Force based in Portsmouth.
- Francis Handley Roach, vicar of St Alkmund Shrewsbury, was chaplain with the Shropshire Battery Royal Horse Artillery Territorial Force also based in Shrewsbury.

In addition to these parish clergy there were bishops who were also army chaplains. In 1891 John Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool was chaplain to the 1st Volunteer Battalion The King's (Liverpool Regiment) who were also based in Liverpool. Among other episcopal chaplains was Francis Jayne, Bishop of Chester, who had only been appointed to Chester in 1891 and was still listed as chaplain to a Volunteer Battalion in Leeds. In 1914 Robert Whitcombe, Bishop of Colchester, Edgar Gibson, Bishop of Gloucester and Francis Chavasse, Bishop of Liverpool were chaplains with locally based Territorial Forces. However the recently appointed Bishop of Sheffield, Leonard Hedley Burrows, retained a chaplain position that was associated with his previous incumbency as Bishop of Lewes.

⁶⁰ *Army List*, Aug 1914 (451-1740).

Chapter 6 will include a detailed analysis of the army chaplains within the diocese of London to ascertain whether episcopal and local clergy involvement mirrored that seen in general across the country, and whether this link with the local military was utilised by the diocese in the pre-war years.

Both types of army chaplain were part of the officer structure of the army; an officer corps in which one of the most important qualifications was that 'one could pass muster as a gentleman'.⁶¹ Albert Tucker argues that, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the army officers reflected 'the social divisions, the class prejudices and the educational system' of society as a whole.⁶² Such divisions and prejudices continued in the years preceding the First World War when Tim Travers considers that the Edwardian officer corps retained 'attitudes and ethos' that were 'essentially traditional [...] and reflected the public school experience whence most officers originated'.⁶³ This latter connection was further stressed by Snape who argues that by the late nineteenth century the officer corps was 'closely intertwined' with the 'new and reformed public schools'.⁶⁴

The public schools therefore, both through the OTC and their involvement in the education of the hierarchical officer corps, were closely associated with the military. The educational institution of the public schools according to Searle 'had close ties with the Church of England', whilst Reader considers that by the turn of the century 'public schools were nearly all Anglican organisations'.⁶⁵ Most clergy had been educated within the public school system and W. D. Rubinstein has highlighted the narrow range of

⁶¹ Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 74.

⁶² Albert V. Tucker, 'Army and Society in England 1870-1900: A Reassessment of the Cardwell Reforms', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 2 (May 1963), 110-141 (p. 112).

⁶³ Tim Travers, 'The Hidden Army: Structural Problems in the British Officer Corps 1900-1918, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17 No. 3 (Jul 1982), 523-544 (p. 524).

⁶⁴ Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 75.

⁶⁵ Searle, *A New England?*, p. 102; Reader, *At Duty's Call*, p. 94.

schools attended by certain of the bishops of the church.⁶⁶ However by the turn of the century elements of the hierarchy of the church were growing concerned at the class of school attended by ordination candidates. In January 1900, at the Bishops' Meeting, Edward Talbot, Bishop of Rochester presented a summary of the public schools attended by ordination candidates between Lent 1897 and Trinity 1899.⁶⁷ This summary showed that out of 1363 candidates 'only 347 had been educated at *what might be called public school*'.⁶⁸ For the purposes of the report the public schools were divided into Class 1 and 2, and it highlighted that Class 1 had provided 211 with the remainder from Class 2.⁶⁹ Specific comment was made that Eton had only contributed sixteen and Harrow eleven. The fact that this report warranted inclusion and comment at a Bishops' Meeting emphasised the importance that the hierarchy of the church at the time placed upon the educational background of the would-be clergy and by association the social connection implicit within this elitist educational system. However at episcopal level tradition was still to the fore with the more established public schools being very evident in the education of the future bishops of the church. Between 1880 and 1919 eight future bishops attended Eton, four had been to Harrow, 16 to other Clarendon Schools and 12 had been educated at other public schools.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ W. D. Rubinstein, 'Education and the Social Origins of British Elites 1880-1970', *Past & Present*, Vol. 112 (Aug 1986), 126-207.

⁶⁷ Talbot had been educated at Charterhouse, which along with Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby, St Pauls, Merchant Taylors and Shrewsbury made up the 8 Clarendon Schools (Rubinstein, 'Education and the Social Origins' p. 169).

⁶⁸ LPL, BM4, Bishops' Meeting 16/17 Jan 1900, p. 104; (my emphasis).

⁶⁹ Class 1 had fifteen schools, including Clifton, Eton, Harrow, Shrewsbury & Winchester; Class 2 had thirteen named schools, including Bedford Grammar School, Lancing, Rossall, St Pauls and a further fifteen that were not individually identified..

⁷⁰ Rubinstein, 'Education and the Social Origins', p. 186 (Table 8).

The education received by future army officers and clergy at the public schools also included the promoting of an 'uncomplicated religious outlook among boys'.⁷¹ One specific area in which this religious outlook was further enhanced and developed was in the religious ethos that permeated within the public schools. As part of this development the school chapel became not only a physical place but also a space which enclosed an 'integrated system of social and ideological control'.⁷² In this respect by the 1900s one ex-headmaster described the chapel 'as the heart of the school's life'.⁷³ One element of the 'ideological control' evident within the school chapel was the military flavour apparent in certain of the hymns sung. This 'vogue for hymns which used military language' was developed during and after the Crimean War and was still apparent later that century and in the years immediately preceding 1914.⁷⁴ An example that was included in the 1904 edition of the *Public School Hymn Book* was 'Lord of the brave' composed in 1893 by Rev. J. H. Skrine.⁷⁵ This hymn was initially published, when he was a schoolmaster at Uppingham, in a 'small personal collection for public schoolboys' and included references to 'fearless war,' 'the all-holy fight,' and 'our soldier oath we pledge' many of which are themes that resonate with a culture of militarism.⁷⁶

In addition to having been educated within the public school system many clergy throughout the pre-war years became schoolmasters and headmasters. Of the fifty-one

⁷¹ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 60.

⁷² Brian Simon, 'Introduction', in *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan; 1975), pp. 1-17 (p. 13).

⁷³ Ex-Headmaster, 'The Religious Element', in *The Public Schools from Within: A Collection of Essays on Public School Education written chiefly by Schoolmasters* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company Ltd, 1906), pp. 134-141 (p. 136).

⁷⁴ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 152.

⁷⁵ Skrine was discussed in chapter 2 in relation to the gender issues prevalent in pre-war England. By 1911 he was at Merton College Oxford where he was associated with the NSL he is also quoted in Summers 'Militarism in Britain Before the Great War', p. 120.

⁷⁶ Lionel Adey, *Class & Idol in the English Hymn* (Vancouver: University of Columbia Press, 1988), p. 187.

headmasters named as attending the Headmasters' Conference in Shrewsbury during December 1898, thirty-six were Church of England clergy.⁷⁷ In late December 1912 out of eighty-two attendees at the Headmasters' Conference held in Bloomsbury, thirty-nine were clergy, and in 1914 from a sample of twenty-one schools with OTC units fourteen had Church of England clergy as headmasters.⁷⁸ In addition, being a successful teacher in a public school 'could also be the shortest cut to high office in the church', a further cementing of the inter-relationship.⁷⁹

The Church of England involvement with the public schools was therefore multi-faceted, both prior to, and throughout the period under discussion. This involvement was in many instances of a direct and pro-active nature that supported the military culture evident in certain facets of the public schools. At an educational conference in 1910 Rev Herbert Branston Gray, headmaster at Bradfield, successfully led the opposition to a proposed resolution that considered 'military training in schools' as a negative influence tending to lower the 'ideals of youth.'⁸⁰ At Ellesmere School, Rev. R. Beviss Thompson, headmaster from 1894 to 1903, whose military background included experience at 'the Wellington Barracks, at the Knightsbridge Barracks and at the Oxford Military College', ensured that the Cadet Corps was 'continuously busy at something new – night attacks, scouting [...] and most important of all a thorough training in rifle shooting'.⁸¹ The Rev. H. Woolsey, headmaster at the same school from 1907 to 1910, upon his appointment

⁷⁷ *The Times*, 23 December 1898, p. 5.

⁷⁸ BL, Report of the 40th Meeting of the Headmasters' Conference, Bloomsbury Square, London, 20-21 Dec 1912; *Army List*, Aug 1914.

⁷⁹ Simon, 'Introduction', in *The Victorian Public School*, p. 13.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, 13 Jan 1910, p. 4: the proposer of the resolution had been A Rowntree, headmaster of the Quaker School, Bootham, York.

⁸¹ Hall, *Fifty Years of Ellesmere*, p. 60.

‘inaugurated an ammunition fund for the Corps’.⁸² The clergy of the Church of England therefore were both influenced by and were active and leading participants in the public schools, establishments where ‘among the elites the necessary lessons in hierarchy, competition leadership and male bonding were learned’.⁸³

Both the secular and the established church hierarchies were inter-related and supportive of an educational system in which the military spirit was not held in abeyance but was in certain areas much to the fore and lauded as a training template. It is perhaps surprising therefore that, despite these military influences upon a substantial proportion of the establishment of the country, in the decades preceding the First World War Britain was the only major industrialised nation in Europe that ‘steadfastly refused to embrace some system of compulsory military service’.⁸⁴ The Boer War had brought the question of conscription to the fore, culminating in the Norfolk Commission of 1904 but even prior to that in the 1890s the matter was in the public domain. In 1895 the Debating Society at St John the Baptist parish in Kentish Town discussed the topic ‘That a limited form of conscription in England is necessary’.⁸⁵ In 1902 the National Service League (NSL) was formed ‘to press for the passage into law of compulsory drill in schools for boys and compulsory military service for young men’.⁸⁶ Membership grew throughout the years preceding 1914, with Adams estimating 2000 members in mid 1905, 10000 by

⁸² Hall, *Fifty Years of Ellesmere*, p. 86.

⁸³ Ellenberger, ‘Constructing George Wyndham’, p. 502.

⁸⁴ Matthew Hendley, ‘Help Us To Secure a Strong, Healthy, Prosperous and Peaceful Britain: The Social Arguments of the Campaign for Compulsory Military Service in Britain 1899-1914’, *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. 30 (Aug 1995), 261-188 (p. 262).

⁸⁵ LMA, P90/JNB/59, St John the Baptist, Highgate Road Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1895 (Dec): the motion was not carried. Earlier that year in the Jan magazine there was a report that the same Debating Society was to discuss on 25 Feb the motion ‘That military discipline should form part of the compulsory education of the male rising generation.’

⁸⁶ Adams & Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy*, p. 10: the NSL described itself on its Membership Application Form as ‘A non-political association for the promotion of national training as essential to the physical and social welfare of the community and as the surest means of securing peace throughout the British Dominions.’

1907, and 62,000 in 1910.⁸⁷ Ferguson states that membership levels peaked in 1912 at just less than 100,000 although with the addition of 'associates and adherents' it was in excess of 200,000: levels of membership in line with those quoted by Summers.⁸⁸ The NSL Annual Report of March 1913 reported that the 'total of subscribers' was 96,526 and the 'number of adherents' was 163,746; these figures were 'not as high as might be wished'.⁸⁹ These 1913 figures, of slightly in excess of 250,000, continued into 1914 when *The Times* indicated similar membership levels and it is this figure that is also quoted by Adams and Poirier.⁹⁰ There is the impression from these figures that after a period of growth the NSL had seen static membership levels. It is also noticeable that the organisation's journal *The Nation in Arms*, which historically, since its first publication in December 1903, had a monthly issue, by mid-1912 had reverted to a quarterly format; whether this was associated with the static membership levels is a matter for conjecture.⁹¹ Appendix 7 compares the local NSL branches, together with membership numbers, at all levels, as listed in the 6th (1908) and the 11th (1913) Annual Reports of the NSL. In 1908 there were 33 branches which by 1913 had increased to 45.⁹² 1909 was the year of

⁸⁷ Adams, 'The National Service League' p. 62; I suspect these figures are taken from *The Times* 29 Jun 1910, p. 8 which in an article on the 8th Annual Report of the NSL, stated that membership was 'now over 61,000 and then gave the **increase** in members on an annual basis as; 1903/550, 1904/840, 1905/675, 1906/2255, 1907/6180, 1908/6250, 1909/15029, 1910/30140.

⁸⁸ Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, p. 15; Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 114: *The Patriot, Monthly Journal of Essex NSL*, May 1908 detailed the subscription rates as 'Adherents: 1 Penny, Associates: 1 Shilling.'

⁸⁹ *The National Service League 11th Annual Report*, 31 March 1913. The figures shown in appendix 7 would imply that 'subscribers' included 'members' and 'associates' and this may clarify the Ferguson and Summers' membership estimates.

⁹⁰ *The Times*, 8 May 1914; Adams & Poirier, *The Conscript Conspiracy*, p. 11

⁹¹ The Navy League, the precursor and sister organisation of the NSL, had been founded in 1895 and had membership of 21,500 by 1908 and 100,000 by 1914; see Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, p.15-17; Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 115-117: by comparison the German Navy League had a membership of 331,910 by 1913.

⁹² The new branches formed between 1908 and 1913 were more than the arithmetic increase in overall numbers of 12, as 15 of those branches listed in the 1908 Report were not included in the 1913 numbers. In certain instances this was due to their inclusion within a new larger branch; Barrow & Lonsdale was an example.

greatest growth, with 14 new branches being formed, and perhaps this reflected the nation's psyche and the invasion concerns of that time discussed in chapter 2.

The demographics of membership are difficult to assess from a list of 'members' names included in the various Annual Reports. Adams considers that the recruiting ground for the League was the 'shop-ocracy: the clerks and schoolmasters' and, with Poirier, argues that the NSL 'did not succeed in enrolling large numbers of working class members'.⁹³ The committees as would be expected comprised the 'great and the good,' local dignitaries and families of standing being pre-eminent. The St Helen's branch was formed in May 1904 with the Pilkington 'glass' family supplying various members of the committee upon which they were joined by local clergy.⁹⁴ The Report of the 6th AGM also made specific comment on the attendance of many working men at a mass meeting in Brighton, which might imply that this was a rarity, and perhaps Worcestershire was more the norm with its seventy associates including students at Malvern Wells School. However the importance of including the lower classes was acknowledged by the NSL, as were the difficulties historically faced in achieving this. The 1913 Report specifically mentioned that 'the campaign carried on amongst working men of the country has already produced most noticeable results [...] to those who remember the reception given to addresses on the League's aims only a few years ago, this is a most encouraging sign of progress'.⁹⁵ In addition to this general comment from the League's executive, local branches also highlighted their efforts in this regard in the 1913 Report. The Derbyshire

⁹³ Adams, 'The National Service League', p. 64; Adams & Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy*, p. 20: Adams 'shop-ocracy' is reminiscent of the social mix of Atkinson's Cadet Corps 'bank cashiers, solicitors, articulated pupils, estate agents' pupils, clerks in good mercantile houses.' ('A National Cadet Army', p. 779).

⁹⁴ By the time of the 6th AGM this branch had failed to submit a report for two years – an oversight that no other branch committed

⁹⁵ *The NSL 11th Annual Report* 31 March 1913.

and Sheffield branch mentioned an 'energetic campaign amongst working men,' and the Surrey branch reported that 'special efforts have been made to interest the working classes, with encouraging results'. However the necessity to involve the higher echelons of society in general was acknowledged in the same report by the situation in Cornwall, which had not been able to incorporate a branch due to the 'small amount of interest taken in the objects of the League by the majority of the leading gentry'. The League's connections with the military were evident in that its first president in 1902 was Lord Raglan, ex-Grenadier Guards, who between 1900 and 1902 had been under-Secretary of State for War. This military association continued in 1905 when he was succeeded as president by Field Marshal Earl Roberts. However despite these obvious military influences it has been argued that, probably due to reluctance on the professional soldiers' part to have amateur unwilling conscripts foistered on them, 'few serving officers before the war supported the campaign for the introduction of conscription'.⁹⁶ However, even if the professional full-time soldier was not overly supportive of the League, his part-time compatriot in the Volunteers and Territorial Force was, in certain instances, fully involved in the NSL. In the 1913 Report the branch at Boston, Lincolnshire stated that 'all of the officers and most of the men in the local Territorial companies and in the National Reserve, belong to the League'.⁹⁷

The demographics therefore imply that despite the attempts to involve the working classes, the bias of NSL membership was towards the middle and upper classes. Summers describes such membership as being drawn 'mostly from conservatives' and adds the

⁹⁶ Keith Simpson, 'The Officers', in *A Nation in Arms: A Social Study of the British Army in the First World War*, ed. by Ian F. W. Beckett and Keith Simpson (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Select, 2004), pp. 63-96 (p. 68).

⁹⁷ *The NSL 11th Annual Report* 31 March 1913.

comment that it was also 'largely from Anglicans'.⁹⁸ Snape also implies the same prominence for Church of England influence, with the comment that the NSL 'had strong support from the Church Lads' Brigade'.⁹⁹ Both these views are enhanced by the NSL publication, 'Leaflet L' '*Religious Thought and National Service*', which claimed support for 'national service' from four bishops, but did not name them.¹⁰⁰ However Allen Warren considers that the churches generally were 'cautious in relation to the NSL'.¹⁰¹ An assessment of clerical, as distinct from lay, involvement with the NSL would highlight actual hands-on pro-active support from the clergy and the Church of England specifically and enable an analysis of its influence within the conscription movement to be made.

In 1908 the executive committee of the NSL consisted of 16. The only representative of the Church of England was Rev Henry Russell Wakefield, vicar of St Mary, Bryanston Square; Wakefield had been vicar at St Mary since 1894 but in 1910 was appointed dean at Norwich.¹⁰² By 1913 he had been appointed as Bishop of Birmingham and he retained his position as the sole clerical representative on the executive council which by that time had increased to 19 in number. In 1908 the general council of the NSL consisted of 36 members and by 1913 it had increased to 111. In both years there were only two clerical representatives, the same in both years; Archibald Robertson, Bishop of Exeter and the Dean of Manchester, James Edward Cowell

⁹⁸ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 114.

⁹⁹ Snape, *God and the British Soldier* p. 161.

¹⁰⁰ Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain*, p. 148.

¹⁰¹ Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain: 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 101 No. 399 (Apr 1986), 376-398 (p. 382).

¹⁰² Wakefield was appointed to St Mary Bryanston Square in 1893. An LDCLB was listed at this parish in the First Annual Report of the LDCLB in 1892, but this LDCLB was not included in the 1900 Handbook. By 1905 the parish reported that it had a BB and a Cadet Corps (GMS, 17885, Completed Articles of Enquiry 1905, xxii-1.

Welldon. Since 1906 Welldon had been Dean of Manchester having prior to that date been headmaster of Harrow from 1885 to 1898 and Canon of Westminster from 1902 until the Manchester appointment. The 1908 Report also listed the vice presidents of the organisation and these numbered in excess of two hundred, of these six were clergymen, and they were all current or ex-headmasters of public schools.¹⁰³

- Herbert Branston Gray at Bradfield College Berkshire
- Edward Lyttleton at Eton College
- Charles George Gull at Grocers School¹⁰⁴
- Bertram Pollock at Wellington College
- Edward Carus Selwyn at Uppingham School
- Joseph Wood at Harrow School

These numbers do not indicate a substantial influence by the Church of England in the executive of the NSL. Out of an NSL hierarchy of more than 250 there were just nine representatives of the Church of England, hardly a high percentage, and of those nine, most were not involved in parish work, but in an elitist educational sector in which the NSL would have sat comfortably with the Cadets and OTC.

At a local branch level, appendix 7 details clergy numbers, shown in parenthesis, against overall committee and member numbers for both 1908 and 1913. Whilst the research undertaken shows that most clergy were Anglicans, there are instances where a particular member of the clergy can not be traced in *Crockfords*. Other denominations were involved and in 1913 the Lincolnshire branch of the NSL, when discussing its

¹⁰³ The 1913 *Report* did not include the vice-president numbers.

¹⁰⁴ Gull was also an army chaplain with a Volunteer battalion based in the diocese of London in 1901, see appendix 8.

membership, stated that 'clergymen of all denominations are on the county books.'¹⁰⁵

Clergy involvement was limited. In 1908 there were thirty-three branches and seven of these had no clergy either on the committee or as members.¹⁰⁶ Fourteen of the remaining twenty-six had clergy representation on the committee and some of these fourteen also had clergy as members; eleven only had clergy listed as members, and the St Helen branch gave no details. Total committee numbers across the thirty-three branches were 419 of which 21 were clergy, and total branch membership was 2035, with 70 being clergy. In addition at the back of the 1908 Report there was a list of members who were not associated with any local branch. These totalled more than 2000, of which 34 were clergy.¹⁰⁷ Comparative figures for 1913 show increases in most of the numbers, in line with the growth overall within the NSL. In 1913 there were forty-five branches but only one of these, Boston, had no clergy either on the committee or as members. Nineteen of the remaining forty-four branches had clergy representation on the committee. Total committee numbers across the thirty-three branches were 1098 of which 35 were clergy, and total branch membership was 12069, with 309 being clergy. In addition at the back of the 1913 Report there was a list of members who were not associated with any local branch. These totalled more than 3104, of which 27 were clergy. Whilst these clergy numbers, particularly as members, show a substantial increase between 1908 and 1913, it is more apparent at levels below that of the committee. This must raise a question as to

¹⁰⁵ *The NSL 11th Annual Report* 31 March 1913. Episcopal representatives from other denominations were also involved and the April 1905 issue of the *National Service Journal* reported that the Manchester branch had received apologies for non-attendance from amongst others Louis Charles Casartelli the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford.

¹⁰⁶ The seven branches are; Barrow & North Lonsdale, Bedfordshire, Hayling Island, Northumberland & Newcastle, Preston & Blackpool, Sheffield and Wigan

¹⁰⁷ Adding together these committee and membership figures, the total for NSL 'membership' amounts to c4500, appendix 7 shows Associates/Adherents at c7000, and this equates approximately to Adams' 'membership' figure of 10000 in 1907; ('The National Service League', p. 62).

the amount of influence that the clergy would have had upon the governance and influence of the local NSL branch.

As with the vice presidents some of these clergy were from the educational sector.

Examples from 1908 being;

- Richard Dutton Budworth, headmaster of Durham School, was a member unattached to any branch.
- Albert Augustus David, headmaster of Rugby, sat on the Bristol committee¹⁰⁸
- Frederick Farewell Sanigear Williams, headmaster of Eastbourne College, was a member in Eastbourne
- Walter Henry Chitty, headmaster at Aysgarth, was a member in Surrey.
- Edward Glossop Wells, assistant master at Marlborough, was a member, unattached to any specific branch.

George John Stratton Warner, the chaplain of Trent College, whose Cadet and OTC development was discussed earlier in this chapter was also a member but was not attached to any branch.

The position in 1913 was similar, with examples being:

- Charles Frederick Farrar, headmaster of Elstow School, sat on the Bedfordshire committee.
- Charles Percy Hines, headmaster of Saham College, sat on the Norfolk and Norwich committee.
- Marchant Pearson, headmaster of Ardingley College, was a member of the Berkshire branch.

¹⁰⁸ David had previously been headmaster at Clifton College.

- Edward Lyttleton, headmaster of Eton, was a member of the Buckinghamshire branch.
- Henry John Chaytor, headmaster of Plymouth College, was a member of the Three Towns and South Devon branch

In addition to these, William Done Bushell, who was assistant master and subsequently chaplain at Harrow School, sat on the Middlesex committee. Bushell was also an army chaplain with various Volunteer Battalions based in Harrow and Regents Park and is discussed in chapter 6 and, is listed in appendix 8 (March 1891 and December 1901).

In addition to these clergy from the educational sector, an unsurprising connection as one of the objects of the NSL was to introduce ‘compulsory drill in schools’, there were episcopal representatives either on their local committees or as members. In 1908 these included; George Forrest Browne, Bishop of Bristol, Edgar Gibson, Bishop of Gloucester, Charles Gore the first Bishop of Birmingham, and Francis Chavasse, Bishop of Liverpool.¹⁰⁹ Of these Gibson and Chavasse have already been identified as army chaplains in the August 1914 *Army List*. By 1913 Browne and Gibson were still committee members and other examples included; Robert Whitcombe, Bishop of Colchester, Welbore MacCarthy, Bishop of Grantham, John Kempthorne, Bishop of Hull, and Edwyn Hoskyns, Bishop of Southwell. There was also a number of clergy, who had retired, and these were particularly prevalent in 1908 at the southern coast branches of Brighton, Eastbourne, East Dorset and Hastings. In 1913 three of the nine clerical members of the Berkshire branch had retired, and a similar ratio was apparent at

¹⁰⁹ Browne had been Bishop of Stepney between 1895 and 1897 and was succeeded by Winnington-Ingram.

the Northamptonshire branch. The only clerical member of the Herefordshire committee, Michael Hopton, had retired.

The three members of the Yorkshire North Riding branch in 1913 encapsulated the various criteria of clergy under discussion. Walter Henry Chitty was headmaster of Aysgarth School, Henry Comber Holmes was canon at York Cathedral and Alfred Thomas Coore had retired.

There were of course many instances, both in 1908 and 1913 where local parish clergy sat on committees or were merely members of the NSL; 1908 examples included:

- Felix William Asher a member of the committee in Brighton and a vicar of Holy Trinity Brighton.
- George Edward Philip Cave-Moyle a committee member of Cheltenham branch and curate of St Paul Cheltenham.
- Reginald Fawkes, vicar of St James Poole, and a member of the East Dorset branch.
- George Francis Helm, vicar of St John the Baptist Cirencester, and a member of the Gloucestershire branch.

Examples from 1913 included:

- Ernest Arthur Gardner, vicar of St Gabriel Canning Town, sat on the Essex committee.
- William Edward Yates, vicar of St Michael Louth, sat on the Lincolnshire committee.
- Henry Page Stokes, vicar of St Paul Cambridge, was a member of the Cambridgeshire branch.

- Arthur Burnet Burney, vicar of St Mark Broomhall, was a member of the Derbyshire and Sheffield branch.

In addition to involvement at committee level and official 'membership' there were other ways in which those clergy who were not officially 'members' of the NSL could show their support for the aims of the League. In 1913 the report of the West Sussex branch expressed its 'thanks' to Rev. Felix William Asher and Rev. Edward Douglass Lennox Harvey for their assistance during the year, and the Lincolnshire branch in their report gave 'special thanks' to the clergymen 'for their help and assistance at meetings.'¹¹⁰ Whilst the only clergyman listed on the Essex committee in 1908 was Henry Frank Johnson, Bishop of Colchester, *The Patriot* for the months from May 1908 to May 1909 highlighted the involvement and support of other clergy in Essex.¹¹¹ In the May 1908 issue the Rev Henry John Shildrick, vicar of St Michael Braintree, attended an NSL meeting held in that town, and Rev Arthur Joseph Sacre, Rural Dean of Wickford, preached at a Territorial Force church parade and spoke of 'real men serving not only their country and their King but their God'.¹¹² In the same issue Rev Charles Cuthbert Natters, vicar of St James Colchester, argued that the time was not yet right for arbitration to settle international disputes and hence 'we must preserve peace by being ready'. The February 1909 issue reported on an NSL meeting in Chelmsford at which Canon Lake mirrored Natters when he commented that the best way to keep peace 'was preparation for war'.

The February 1905 issue of the *National Service Journal* included a reference to an article that had appeared in the *Church Times* in January that year by the Rev. Paul Bull,

¹¹⁰ *The NSL 11th Annual Report* 31 March 1913.

¹¹¹ *The Patriot, The Monthly Journal of Essex NSL*,

¹¹² Sacre was also a chaplain in the Essex Regiment a position he still held in 1914.

a camp chaplain in the CLB, entitled 'The Spiritual Value of Military Discipline'.¹¹³ Bull's comments on military discipline were referred to in chapter 2 in the discussion on the importance of the concept of 'stand' within the Church. A connection between the NSL and the CLB was also declared by the Rev Samuel Thornton, vicar of St Mary Blackburn, who wrote to the *Journal* stating that 'I do all I can locally to promote' the NSL, CLB and the Liverpool branch of the Navy League. These latter two are examples of Snape's comment on the close link between the CLB and the NSL.¹¹⁴ Overall therefore in addition to a direct involvement of the clergy with the NSL there were more subliminal ways in which the views and aims of the organisation could be disseminated through the local parish.

However some of the clerical supporters of the NSL acknowledged the potential duality of their positions. Canon Page-Roberts in an article in the *National Service Journal* noted that 'it may seem incongruous for one who is a Minister of the Prince of Peace to say a word in favour of 'militarism, but the 'militarism' I would commend has no sinister designs against others'.¹¹⁵ This highlights the multi-faceted nature of 'militarism' as a concept; Page-Roberts saw it as defensive and a means of creating a confident nation. Similar sentiments were echoed later that decade when Canon Lake told an NSL meeting that 'if as a clergyman he was supposed to be a man of peace' he could square the circle by declaring that 'the best way to keep a condition of peace was preparation for war'.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ *Church Times*, 6 & 12 Jan 1905.

¹¹⁴ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 161.

¹¹⁵ *National Service Journal*, Vol. 1 (Dec 1903), Page-Roberts, W. 'The Moral Aspect of Universal Compulsory Training'.

¹¹⁶ *The Patriot: The Monthly Journal of the Essex Branch of the National Service League* (Feb 1909): p. 6: Report on meeting of the Chelmsford NSL.

Turning to the Diocese of London there is little evidence of NSL activity. The NSL Report for 1908 did not include references to any local branches of the organisation in either Middlesex or those parts of London that were within the diocesan boundaries. This lack of involvement was rectified on 15 September 1909 when 'a separate office was opened for the County of London'.¹¹⁷ Within the diocesan boundaries this office was split into four divisions: Kensington, Chelsea, Hampstead and Paddington. In February 1910 a Middlesex branch was incorporated, see appendix 7, and this had two divisions: Ealing and Harrow. There was no mention of committees in respect of any of these divisions in the 1910 Report and no detail of clerical involvement. The 1913 Report showed that Paddington division no longer existed but a new division for St Pancras had been formed. The 'membership' of the County of London divisions was:

Division	Members	Associates
Kensington		1100
Chelsea	103	335
Hampstead	349	
St Pancras	19	52

Bearing in mind that, excluding St Pancras, these local NSL organisations had been in existence for three years these are not impressive. Kensington reported that it 'numbers just over 1100', the assumption being that the number included 'members' and 'associates'. Hampstead was described, quite scathingly, as a borough that 'remains very apathetic as regards national service and incidentally it may be remarked equally so in respect of voluntary service'. There was no mention of clergy involvement in any of these divisions. Middlesex branch had similar low numbers as indicated in appendix 7. In the three years since its incorporation it had gained 204 members, 1404 associates and 1235

¹¹⁷ *The National Service League 8th Annual Report* 31 March 1910.

adherents. In the context of the growth of the suburbs in Middlesex, discussed in chapter 3, these numbers are not substantial. Middlesex branch had 12 committee members and William Done Bushell was the only clergyman. Bushell, assistant master and ultimately chaplain at Harrow School, was discussed above in respect of the educational sectors involvement with the NSL. There were four clergy who were members of the branch. One of these was Bushell, and the other three were; Richard Howell Brown, who in 1913 was vicar of St Andrew Enfield, William Dixon Halse Petter, vicar of All Saints Childs Hill, Hendon and a J Wood.¹¹⁸ Brown had been vicar at St Andrew since 1905 and this parish had first registered an LDCLB in 1893 and this was listed in the 1912 First Annual Report of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation. Petter had been the vicar of All Saints Childs Hill since 1893. There is no record of any brigade or scout activity at this parish in Hampstead deanery throughout the years of his incumbency.

In the list for 1913 of members who were not attached to any particular branch there were five clergy who held positions within the diocese of London. Of these William Boyd Carpenter had resigned as Bishop of Ripon in 1911, on the grounds of ill-health, and since that date had been canon of Westminster. Willoughby Carter had been vicar of St Matthias Earls Court since 1900, and an LDCLB was mentioned in 1905 at that parish. William Scott was vicar at St Mary Magdalene Paddington but there is no record of any brigade or scout activity at that parish. The remaining two were both army chaplains and are included in appendix 8 (January 1910): Robert Stuart de Courcy Laffan and Brooke Deedes. Laffan was vicar of St Stephen Wallbrook in the West City deanery; there is no record of any brigade or scout activity at that parish. Deedes had been vicar of St John

¹¹⁸ It has not been possible to specifically identify J Wood but it could be James Kirkman Wood who was appointed chaplain at the Boys' Farm Home in East Barnet in 1901.

Hampstead from 1900 until 1913 when he was appointed vicar of St Vedast in the West City deanery. St Vedast had no involvement with either the brigades or scouts. Whilst at St John Hampstead, Deedes was also Rural Dean. An LDCLB was registered at St John Hampstead in 1896 and its existence was also mentioned in the 1905 Completed Articles of Enquiry, in addition, as will be discussed in chapter 6, there was good representation for the LDCLB in Hampstead deanery generally. However, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the NSL 1913 report referred to Hampstead as 'very apathetic'.

There appears to be a duality, if not plurality, of position in respect of Deedes, the NSL, Hampstead and the local Territorial Force. If Deedes was a supporter of the NSL whilst Rural Dean of Hampstead, although his name does not appear in the 1908 NSL Report as a member, why was Hampstead described in 1913 as a borough that 'remains very apathetic'? Why was Deedes a member of the NSL without a designated branch when Hampstead had one, was his membership linked to his move to St Vedast? Why was it that, despite Deedes being a member of the NSL, the local Rural Dean and army chaplain in 1910 to a Territorial battalion, the NSL in its 1913 Report considered that Hampstead warranted the comment that 'it will not maintain at its proper strength a single company of a Territorial regiment'? Similar duality and plurality of positions held within the church and the clergy have already been discussed in chapter 2 in respect of the relationship between the Church of England Peace League and the role of the army chaplain and will be further discussed in chapter 6.

Overall the levels of clerical membership within the diocese of London by local clergy are low. However there were also, as with other areas of England, instances of assistance to the NSL in individual parishes. In the 1913 NSL Report it was stated that over the

previous twelve months within the county of London, there had been 133 Open Air Meetings, 29 Public Halls and Institutes meetings, 11 Drawing Room meetings and 58 meetings across a range of clubs, medical colleges, debating societies, churches, works meetings of employees and Church of England Men's Societies. This list of course included meetings held south of the Thames but there were a substantial number held within the diocese of London that were in certain instances detailed in *The Nation in Arms*.¹¹⁹ The January 1911 issue reported that on 21 November 1910 a lantern lecture had been arranged 'with the kind help of' John Arthur Betts, vicar of St Stephen Portland Town.¹²⁰ The same issue noted that on 24 November a lantern lecture had been held at St Stephen School Westbourne Paddington at which 'one hundred and fifty were present including a number of boy scouts', in addition to the lecture the vicar, Shepley Stancliffe Smith, also spoke in favour of the NSL'.¹²¹ An NSL lantern lecture held on 15 December in the church rooms at St Benet Kentish Town was chaired by Henry Tristram Valentine, vicar at the parish since 1906.¹²² The January 1911 issue also reported on the forming of a new Hampton division within the Middlesex branch, and Charles Robert Job and Robert Digby Ram, vicars of St James Hampton Hill and St Alban Teddington respectively, were members of the committee. These clergymen had held their present incumbencies from 1893 and 1882 respectively; Ram was to retire later in 1911. Both parishes had registered LDCLB in the early 1890s and St James Hampton Hill was listed in the 1912 First Annual Report of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation. St Alban was not

¹¹⁹ *The Nation in Arms* as the *Journal of the National Service League* included details of activities from various branches in each issue. The issues are numbered 1-12 (1911 monthly) and 1-10 (1912-14 initially monthly and subsequently quarterly): the Bodleian Library has all the issues apart from no. 3 in 1912.

¹²⁰ Betts had been vicar at St Stephen since 1899 and there is no record of any brigade or scout activity at this parish during his incumbency.

¹²¹ Smith had been vicar at St Stephen since 1909 and there is no record of brigade or scout activity during his incumbency. The only mention was 'cadets' in the 1903 Return.

¹²² There is no record of brigade or scout activity at the parish during his incumbency.

included in this latter report but the neighbouring parish of St Peter and St Paul Upper Teddington was. The Easter 1912 issue made reference to a meeting with the Church of England Men's Society (CEMS) at St Andrew Hall Fulham chaired by Robert Ernest Young, a curate at the parish, at which there were 'eighty present, including the LDCLB'.¹²³ The Easter 1913 issue noted a presentation to the LDCLB at All Souls Langham Place Marylebone on 6 December 1912 that had been chaired by Walter Frederick Scott, a curate at the parish, at which 'forty were present'.¹²⁴ There are other reports on meetings within the diocese from 1911 onwards, but it is noticeable that the number reported diminishes as the year's progress and the Easter 1914 issue had no reports on meetings either in the County of London or in Middlesex.

In addition to these NSL led initiatives there were throughout the period instances of local parishes debating the question of conscription and the readiness of the country to meet any armed challenge. The 1895 debating topic at St John Kentish Town has already been noted. In 1902 the recently formed Debating Society at St Augustine Highbury discussed 'The Value of Compulsory Military Service' and in 1908 the same society debated the topic 'That Some Form of Compulsory Military Service has Become Necessary for the Safety of the Empire and for the Moral and Physical Training of the Nation'.¹²⁵ Two other parishes in Islington deanery in early 1914 had Lantern Lectures on

¹²³ St Andrew had a scout troop during this period.

¹²⁴ All Souls had a longstanding LDCLB involvement, there is reference to a 'scout' patrol within the brigade in 1908 and the parish also had a miniature rifle range. Scott left the parish in 1913 and became a chaplain in the Royal Navy.

¹²⁵ LMA, P83/AUG/120 & 126, St Augustine Highbury, Parish Magazines 1902 & 1908 (Nov 1902 & Nov 1908).

associated themes; St John Upper Holloway on 'The Navy League' and St Mark Tollington Park on 'Aircraft – Britain's Need'.¹²⁶

Generally the Church of England had a low interaction with the NSL across England with clerical numbers being small particularly in positions of influence. In certain branches there was episcopal involvement at committee level and the less influential position of member.¹²⁷ A demographic of the involvement of the church in the NSL would highlight a number of retired clergyman and those that were or had been associated with education. There were instances of 'grass-root' parish support that bolster the more formal attachments of the committee and membership. In the diocese of London the involvement with the NSL seems even lower. It was only from 1909 that the areas covered by the diocese had specific branches and local divisions within the NSL and the growth of these over the period up to the 1913 NSL Report can, at best, be described as minimal. In addition to this, despite the episcopal involvement from other dioceses, there was nothing similar in the response of either the Bishop of London or any of the suffragan Bishops of Islington, Kensington, Stepney and Willesden. There are few references to conscription in the parish material of the time, or either of the Completed Articles of Enquiry of 1905 and 1911 and the impression is that within the diocese the NSL warranted little prominence and report. Overall therefore the ability of the Church of England to influence and be influenced by an organisation that one contemporary considered pre-eminent in pre-war propaganda and that 'permeated the social life of

¹²⁶ LMA, P83/JNE/720, St John Upper Holloway, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan); P83/MRK/154, St Mark Tollington Park, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan).

¹²⁷ In 1913 the bishops on branch committees were: Exeter, Colchester, Gloucester, Bristol, Grantham, Bath & Wells, Hull and Knaresborough. Those who were members were: Chester, Dover, Leicester, Peterborough, Southwell, Taunton.

England' would have been correspondingly limited.¹²⁸ Such a limitation would also have been more defined in the diocese of London.

This analysis of the Church of England's involvement in the NSL does highlight the relationship between the educational sector, in particular the public schools and the matter of military training. Tarver in his history of Trent College expounded the ethos of 'what people in their easy way call 'spirit' [...] a strange essence – elusive, infectious, continuing, [...] the spirit of Trent Corps [...] a noble spirit characteristic of England and worth maintaining in English boys'.¹²⁹ Way, headmaster of Rossall School, considered that it was a 'matter of vital importance that some system of military training should be established in England, if not compulsory it must at least be comprehensive'.¹³⁰ These comments by representatives of the public schools highlighted not only the importance of the diffusion of the ideals of the public schools into those sectors of society that could not experience it firsthand, but also the importance of the military element of this ethos as a means to this transference.

Springhall considers that the BB was 'seen as one of the primary instruments for the transmission of Christian manliness to the non-public school-boy'.¹³¹ The next chapter will analyse the growth and development of the whole range of youth organisations that came to the fore in the years preceding 1914 and their involvement with the Church of England and the diocese of London. It will also assess their actions and impact within the militarised masculinity prevalent in sectors of the pre-war environment.

¹²⁸ C. E. Playne, *The Pre-War Mind in Britain: An Historical Review* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1928), p. 147.

¹²⁹ Tarver, *Trent College* p. 125.

¹³⁰ Way, 'Military Training', p. 209.

¹³¹ John Springhall, 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents 1880-1914' in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain & America 1880-1940*, ed. by J. A. Mangan & James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) pp. 52-74 (p. 53).

CHAPTER 5

'Gather together the Lads' Brigades, Scouts and Militarism¹

There was substantial contemporary comment on the development and importance of the various 'youth organisations', the brigades and scouts in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period.² This debate has continued particularly in respect of the levels of militarism evident within the various brigades and scouts.³ This chapter will concentrate on the following nationwide youth organisations; the Boys' Brigade (BB), the Church of England organisation of the Church Lads' Brigade (CLB) and the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts (BPBS) and in addition to these the two organisations unique to the diocese of London; the London Diocesan Church Lads' Brigade (LDCLB) and the London Diocesan Boy Scouts (LDBS). Initially membership levels will be discussed, highlighting any

¹ CLCGB, LDCLB Handbook 1900: the opening phrase of one of the objects of the LDCLB.

² Atkinson, 'A National Cadet Army', 773-796; Bristow, *The Call of the Bugle*; Bull, *Work Among the Lads in the Church Lads' Brigade*; Regimental Colonel in the CLB, 'The Church Lads' Brigade' *Royal United Service Institution Journal*, Vol. 57 Part 2 (Jul-Dec 1913) 1142-1143; Sir Francis Vane *The Boy Knight: Essays and Addresses on the Evolution of the Boy Scout Movement* (Council of National Peace Scouts, undated but pre-1914).

³ Victor Bailey, 'Bibles and Dummy Rifles: The Boys' Brigade', *History Today*, Vol. 33 No. 10 (Oct 1983), 5-9; Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Reader, 'At Duty's Call'; Michael Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 5 No. 4 (Oct 1980), 603-617; John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); Anne Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADS: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 102 No. 405 (Oct 1987), 943-947; Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell: The Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 101 No. 399 (Apr 1986), 376-398 & 'Baden-Powell: A Final Comment', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 102 No. 405 (Oct 1987), 948-950; Paul Wilkinson 'English Youth Movements 1908-30', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 4 No. 2 (Apr 1969), 3-23.

trends and commenting upon the reasons for any changes in order to assess the impact and popularity of the youth movements in general and the individual organisations in particular. Then the question of the level of 'militarism' shown by each organisation will be discussed to see whether that aspect of the public school esprit de corps was apparent within them or whether a conscious distancing from this particular trait was evident. However prior to these assessments it is important to place the concept of 'lads' and 'boys' in their contemporary environment. The 'lads' and 'boys' of the various Brigades were aged between 12 and 19 and hence very few would still be schoolboys or school-lads. Thus in 1896 Walter Mallock Gee, founder of the CLB, wrote in the *Church Times* that 'as a rule the Companies should only consist of lads who have left school, it is the older lads for whom the Brigade is designed'.⁴

Any assessment of the influence of the movements in general and of specific organisations on pre-1914 England is a matter for debate but one way to analyse the effectiveness is to look at membership levels. By 1914 Beckett considers that it is possible that 'as many as forty-one percent of all male adolescents may have belonged to some form of youth organisation'.⁵ Whilst this percentage might, as will be discussed later in this chapter, appear on the high side, his use of the phrase 'male adolescents' is an excellent alternative to 'lads' and 'boys'. However Beckett's percentage does raise the question; 'forty-one percent' of what? It would seem more useful, if possible, to place an actual number on the membership as opposed to a percentage of an unquantified total. The Mansion House Advisory Committee of Associations for Boys, which represented

⁴ *Church Times*, 3 July 1896, p.4.

⁵ Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms', p.5.

the BB, Catholic Boys' Brigade, 'Scouts'⁶, CLB, LDCLB, and the Jewish Lads' Brigade, estimated both in 1910 and 1914 that these organisations 'represent altogether about 300,000 boys in the United Kingdom'.⁷

The Catholic Boys' Brigade and the Jewish Lads' Brigade as expected, if their ethnic grouping within the overall population was allowed for, had relatively small membership figures, which were estimated at 4000 and 3000 respectively in 1910.⁸ These therefore were a very small proportion of the total and it should be possible to 'prove' the 300,000 across the remaining organisations and also see growth periods and other times when membership was static. The fact that *The Times* used the same membership number in both 1910 and 1914 would imply that in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War numbers across all the organisations had plateaued.

The Boys' Brigade (BB) was the oldest organisation and in many ways the template for other brigades; as was its growth pattern:⁹

Year	Membership
1889	14328
1896	30233
1897	35000
1900	44000
1902	52844
1904	54000
1910	61600
1912	55819
1913	63000

⁶ For the purposes of 'counting heads' in this context 'scouts' is used to cover all types including Baden Powell, Peace, British Boy Scouts, and London Diocesan – an assessment of differences will be made later in this chapter.

⁷ *The Times*, 27 Oct 1910, p. 6 & 18 Jun 1914, p. 6.

⁸ *Penny Illustrated*, 2 Apr 1910, p. 4: the Catholic Boys' Brigade is referred to as the Catholic Lads' Brigade.

⁹ Figures are for the United Kingdom; 1889 & 1896 figures from Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements', p. 6: the membership excluding Scotland was 3714 and 18,711 respectively, which indicates little increase during this period in Scotland; *The Times*, 10 May 1897, p. 8; 1900 figure from Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 160; *The Times*, 2 May 1902, p. 2; 1904 figure from Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers', p. 604; *The Times*, 26 Sep 1910, p. 7: Annual Meeting of Brigade Council (this figure is in line with the *Penny Illustrated* figure for the same year of 65,000); *The Times*, 23 Sep 1912, p. 2: Annual Meeting of Brigade Council; 1913 from Atkinson, 'A National Cadet Army', p. 793.

These membership figures did not include any overseas members and were for the whole of the United Kingdom only. Reader estimates that 'by 1914 the Boys' Brigade had about 150,000 members,' which is out of line with the figures and hence probably referred to worldwide membership levels.¹⁰ Initially growth was slow but doubled over the period 1889 to 1896. Numbers then increased between 1897 and 1902, the latter years of this period probably being influenced by the Boer War not only through a heightening of interest in the military generally but also the concerns and subsequent debate this had raised over the calibre of British men in relation to the needs of the armed forces.

However Bailey argues that the stagnation seen in the years prior to 1914 coincided 'with the rise of the Boy Scout movement' and whilst this was undoubtedly a factor it also mirrored the movement in Territorial Force numbers discussed earlier and perhaps both figures reflected the decline in the Boer War effect.¹¹ Therefore by 1910 the Catholic and Jewish brigades together with the BB had a combined membership of approximately 70,000 leaving 230,000 to be accounted for by the CLB, LDCLB and 'scouts'.

Membership numbers are not as available in respect of the CLB as they are for the BB and CLB growth patterns can be best assessed from CLB company numbers:¹²

¹⁰ Reader, *At Duty's Call*, p. 77.

¹¹ Bailey, 'Bibles and Dummy Rifles', p. 7.

¹² 1892 figure from CLCGB, Box 14, Minute Books of CLB Executive Council, 12th Meeting Dec 1892; 1893 figure from LPL, Benson ff 428-430, CLB H/Q letter 28 Apr 1893; other figures from *The Brigade Magazine*, May 1895, Dec 1896, Dec 1897, Dec 1898, Jan 1905, Jan 1906 & Jan 1907; 1910 from *Penny Illustrated* 2 Apr 1910, p. 4.

Year	Companies W/Wide	Companies England	Suspended
1892	114		
1893		153	
1895	350		
1896	758		
1897	951		
1898	1107		
1904	1146	991	210
1905	1186	1025	123
1906	1297	1140	57
1910		1400	

‘Suspended’ refers to those companies that had failed to pay their fees. This was quite a high proportion, particularly in 1904 but individual company financial problems appear to have merely reflected those of the organisation as a whole, which in 1897 reported a deficit of £621.18.11.¹³ A detailed analysis of the financial problems that beset certain companies of the LDCLB in parishes in the diocese of London will be undertaken in the next chapter where it will be argued that the financial problems reflected both a lack of support from the local parishioners and a failure to support the brigade movement from a hierarchical standpoint. Similar arguments would appear to be appropriate in respect of the substantial number of ‘suspended’ companies in the CLB.

As in many ways the CLB was a latecomer and had used elements of the BB as a template there was a need, particularly in the early years to assert its independence as an organisation of the Church of England. This had been apparent when in 1893 various ‘CLB Lieutenants’ wrote to certain newspapers to express concern that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Benson, had become a Vice-Patron of the BB. Copies of these letters were forwarded to Benson in April that year and later that month a letter on behalf of

¹³ *Church Times*, 9 Jul 1897, p. 51: report on the CLB. The National Archives Calculator would convert this into a sum in excess of £35,000 today.

Benson acknowledged that he had consented to be a Vice-Patron. However he had given his consent 'under the impression given by the secretary [of the BB] that there were so many Church Battalions, so many Presbyterian etc and that each Battalion was taken to its own place of worship, since a doubt was thrown upon this his Grace is now making enquiries as to the facts of the case'.¹⁴ The growth levels for the CLB were substantially more robust between 1895 and 1897 than they were for the BB and this may be due to the CLB highlighting its Church of England credentials and association. In the next chapter the relationship between the LDCLB and the BB during these years will be discussed in detail.

CLB membership levels are difficult to assess as by 1900 the permitted numbers in a company ranged from a minimum of 24 to a maximum of 100. There are however two guides that can be utilised; in the letter to Benson from CLB Headquarters in 1893 company numbers are put at 153 and membership at 'lowest calculation 8000' and these figures would give an average membership at just in excess of 50.¹⁵ In the *Penny Illustrated* article of 1910 the number of members was estimated at 40,000 in 1400 companies;¹⁶ an average company membership level of 28. One other potential guide is the membership levels of the LDCLB in the diocese of London. These are shown in appendix 5, and are fully discussed in chapter 6; the figures indicate an average company membership level in the region of 40. There are of course many reasons why the experience of London might not be replicated across the nation; the very existence of the LDCLB was because the diocese of London considered that it had unique problems and

¹⁴ LPL, Benson ff 114, 403-409 & 415-417; there is further correspondence under ff 431-453.

¹⁵ LPL, Benson ff 428-430; newly formed companies are also said to be 'coming in at the rate of 10 per month.'

¹⁶ As the article is titled 'A Little List of Things the War Office Ought To Do Today' the assumption is that these numbers are not worldwide.

challenges. However using 40, which is close to the mid-point of the 1893 and 1910 figures, worldwide membership levels in 1898 would have been in the region of 45,000, with a similar figure for England alone in 1906. Using the higher 1893 number of 50 these two estimates would have increased by an additional 10,000. Both Wolffe and Searle suggest membership levels of 70,000 in 1908 and if these are correct they would imply a substantial reduction between 1908 and the *Penny Illustrated* figures of 1910.¹⁷ Perhaps the impact of the nascent scout movement was the reason for the significant decrease in membership levels implicit within these sets of numbers but company numbers over that period appear robust and hence there is a question mark against the 1908 numbers.

It is important to understand that none of the CLB Companies were in the diocese of London, which in 1891 had formed the separate London Diocesan Church Lads' Brigade (LDCLB). The records of the CLB specifically show no London companies even though there was a tendency for certain parishes of the diocese of London to refer to their companies as simply 'Church Lads' Brigade'.¹⁸ By 1893 the exasperated executive council of the CLB commented specifically on the confusion caused 'as certain companies in London are not using the prefix 'London Diocesan'' and the diocese was written to concerning this.¹⁹ The reason for the split was that elements within the diocese of London considered that London had unique problems that required organisations that were specific to the locality. At an inaugural meeting of the CLB on 11 November 1891 it was agreed to 'at once proceed to organise a Lads' Brigade under the direction of the

¹⁷ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 230; Searle, *A New England?*, p. 54.

¹⁸ This practice continued throughout the period up to 1914 with many diocesan parishes referring to the CLB and not the correct form of the LDCLB.

¹⁹ CLCGB, CLB Box 14, Minute Books of the Executive Council of the CLB, Book 2 p. 49: Minutes of the 23rd Meeting held on 24 May 1893.

Bishop of London'.²⁰ The actual driving force behind the creation of the organisation was the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men (LDCWYM) an organisation formed in 1884.²¹ In September 1886 the Spitalfields Rural Deanery was given a presentation on the 'Objects and Work of the LDCWYM':²²

- Promote the formation and development of local institutions for young men such as Youth's Institutes, Boys' Clubs, Night Schools, Guilds, Working Boys' Homes;
- Give grants of money towards starting such institutions;²³
- Give advice on 'best modes of procedure';
- Introduce interested people to parishes;
- Establish 'Central Corresponding Office';
- Maintain registers of suitable lodgings; and
- Assist in the establishment of gymnasia, open spaces, cricket/athletic sport, educational classes.

The objects to 'introduce' and 'maintain lodgings register' imply that the organisation was aimed not solely at the lads born in London but those who moved to the capital from the provinces; an indicator of the shifting and changing population discussed in chapter 3. By 1892 the objects had been much pruned and consisted of commitments in respect of seaside camps and the nascent LDCLB:²⁴

²⁰ LMA, ACC/1926/C/121, The Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys and Girls of London First Annual Report 1903, p. 103: overview of LDCLB.

²¹ By 1910 the organisation had changed its name to the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Lads (LDCWL).

²² LMA, DRD/L2/1/1, Minutes of the Chapter of the Rural Deanery of Spitalfields: 29 Jan 1886, Presentation on objects and work of 'The Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men.

²³ As at the date of the presentation there had been 18 grants of between £10 and £100.

²⁴ *Official Year Book of the Church of England 1892* (London: SPCK, 1892), p. 485.

- To maintain a seaside camp for London Working Boys to which they can go for a holiday; and
- To maintain a Boys' Brigade on church lines in the diocese to give continuity to the seaside camp influences during the winter and to promote in the boys all that tends towards Christian manliness.

The mention of 'on church lines' mirrored the concern discussed earlier at Benson's association with the BB. The relationship between the CLB and the LDCLB was never totally amicable. Attempted mergers throughout 1894-95 foundered on intransigence on both sides.²⁵ The organisations finally merged prior to the Second World War. A detailed analysis of LDCLB company and membership numbers at an individual parish level will be undertaken in chapter 6 but, as an overview, the following table indicates a pattern in line with the CLB, with substantial growth over the turn of the century and a reasonably static position from 1910 onwards.²⁶

Dates	Number of Companies	Number of Members
1892	30	500
1894	60	1800
1896	80	2500
1897	105	3500
1900	119	5000
1905	150	6000
1907		6500
1910	185	8000
1912	175	7500

The *Penny Illustrated* referred to 7000 members in 1910 and this may be more in line with actual membership levels than the figure quoted in *The Times* which may have

²⁵ CLCGB, CLB Box 14, Minute Books of Executive Council of CLB, Book 2, pp. 135-136, 150-153, 312; Book 3, pp. 16, 21.

²⁶ LPL, London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men First Annual Report 1892; *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jun 1894; *The Times*, 12 Oct 1896 p. 4; *The Times*, 19 Feb 1897 p. 8; CLCGB, The LDCLB Handbook 1900; *The Times*, 24 Aug 1905 p. 6; *Church Times*, 11 Oct 1907 p. 440; *The Times*, 11 Oct 1910 p. 7; the 1912 figures are taken from the Roxeth & Harrow Church Lads' & Church Girls' Brigade Archives (R&H), Pre 1914 Leaflet of the LDCLB.

included officers.²⁷ The average number per company was in the region of 40 and this is in line with the detailed breakdown of individual parish membership numbers given in appendix 5. If these membership levels of 40,000 and 7,000 for the CLB and the LDCLB respectively are therefore added to the 70,000 estimated in respect of the BB and Jewish and Catholic Brigades the total is 117,000. This figure is comparable with the 1910 combined BB and CLB membership of 'nearly 100,000' estimated by Snape.²⁸ Therefore in order to achieve a figure approximating to the 300,000 mentioned in *The Times* of 1910 and 1914 'scout' membership had to be in the region of 180,000.²⁹

The name 'scout' covers a multitude of organisations the most popular and best supported was the Baden-Powell Scouts (BPBS). There were other organisations, for instance the National Peace Scouts of which the British Boy Scouts formed the largest part. However for the purposes of this paper, the emphasis of the discussion will be on the BPBS, and the London Diocesan Boy Scouts (LDBS); the 'scout' equivalent of the LDCLB within the diocese of London. The scout movement's initial development was multifaceted with the concept of 'scouting' far exceeding its structure. Rosenthal quotes from a letter written by Baden-Powell that was published in the *Eton College Chronicle* in December 1904 which outlined the concept of a scheme for the training of boys.³⁰ As the decade progressed the development of the various 'scouting' organisations culminated in the BPBS, which was 'inaugurated by General Baden-Powell in 1908'.³¹

Over the same period there were examples of 'scouting' within the diocese of London. In 1908 for example the parish of All Souls Langham Place reported on a 'recently

²⁷ *Penny Illustrated*, 2 Apr 1910, p. 4

²⁸ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 161: it is not clear if this figure includes the LDCLB.

²⁹ *The Times*, 27 Oct 1910, p. 6 & 18 Jun 1914, p. 6.

³⁰ Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers', p. 605.

³¹ Scout Association Archive (SA), *Boy Scouts' Headquarters Gazette*, Vol. 1 No. 1, Jul 1909.

organised company of scouts,' but these appeared to be unstructured ad-hoc developments and it was only in 1909 that matters were formalised.³² The timing and nature of the structuring of 'scouting' within the diocese can only imply that initially the BPBS movement was seen as a threat to the existing LDCLB and that organisation's affiliation to the Church of England. In 1909 the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Lads (LDCWL), formerly the LDCWYM, the body that had been instrumental in the formation of the LDCLB the previous decade, declared in an article in the *London Diocesan Magazine* that as the 'usefulness of scouting [is] self-evident [...] its adoption can be recommended to all companies of the Diocesan CLB and the Brigade authorities [...] are prepared to do all that is necessary to enable companies to take up scouting as a part of the ordinary Brigade routine'.³³ This response therefore was an attempt to retain 'scouting' in the Diocese within the existing LDCLB structure and its church affiliation. Whilst the *London Diocesan Magazine* article was dated April 1909 this was obviously a confirmation of an existing practice. In addition to the scout activity of the previous year at All Souls Langham Place, earlier in 1909 the parish of St Andrew Willesden had reported that they were 'now authorised by the Headquarters' staff of the Brigade to run a patrol of scouts in connection with the [LDCLB] Company'.³⁴ In April 1909 St Michael Cricklewood had also announced in an article on the LDCLB that 'we shall probably form scout patrols in this company as sanctioned now by the Headquarters staff'; a development that might have been linked to an earlier section in the article that had reported that the parish was 'anxious to see the numbers of the company

³² LMA, P89/ALS/145/1, All Souls Langham Place, Annual Reports 1886-1914 (1908): it is noticeable that they are described as a 'company' and not as a 'troop' and this might be because they were associated with the parish LDCLB.

³³ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1909.

³⁴ LMA, DRO/099/139, St Andrew Willesden, Parish Magazines 1909 (Jan).

increase'.³⁵ A similar connection was evident at Holy Trinity Hoxton in 1910 when the parish magazine referred to the LDCLB meeting having a 'sub-meeting for scouts'.³⁶ Perhaps these latter two examples reflected the impact of 'scouting' upon LDCLB membership numbers which in general terms had started to plateau.

For those parishes without an existing LDCLB, the Diocesan Council announced that it had 'made arrangements for the formation of the LDBS Corps which is now registering scout patrols or troops and assisting parishes'.³⁷ The impact of the scouting movement, and the BPBS in particular, are evident in the language of the LDBS which referred to 'troops' and 'patrols' as compared with the 'companies' of the LDCLB and of All Souls Langham Place in the previous year. The LDBS was therefore formed to retain the 'scout' within the boundaries and under the guidance and auspices of the diocese of London, as a sister organisation to the LDCLB. To reflect this new organisation by 1910 the objects of the LDCWL had an additional category which was 'to maintain a Boy Scout Corps on church lines in the Diocese'.³⁸

The close association between the LDCLB and the LDBS, and the fact that both organisations had the same organising and controlling body in the LDCWL, caused some confusion; particularly as both utilised the same head office address. Therefore it was no surprise that by August 1909 the *London Diocesan Magazine* had to re-emphasise that the LDBS 'Corps is distinct from the LDCLB which has its own scout patrols' and in

³⁵ LMA, DRO/095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines 1907-12 (Apr 1909): there are no records that 'scouts' were introduced into the parish.

³⁶ LMA, P91/TRI/79/1, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1910-13 (1910): by January 1912 it was reported that the 'parish scouts have been affiliated to the British Boy Scouts – starting completely afresh.'

³⁷ *London Diocesan Magazine*, April 1909.

³⁸ *Official Year Book of the Church of England 1910* (London: SPCK, 1910), p. 499: in the same section the objects of the LDCLB were listed and these were similar to those of 1892, the major difference being that the reference to 'a Boys' Brigade on church lines' had been changed to 'a Lads' Brigade on church lines.

October reiterated that the LDBS is 'quite separate from the LDCLB which organises its own scout patrols'.³⁹ At the same time as that later declaration the LDBS felt it appropriate to declare that its aim was 'to carry on its work in friendly relation with all other recognised bodies of Boy Scouts'.⁴⁰ The need to make the last comment would imply that there were instances of friction and conflict between the nascent scouting organisations, as at times areas of perceived influence and responsibility clashed. An example of this was evident at St Matthew Upper Clapton. In 1910 the parish complained that 'the band of scouts formed for this parish [...] has been moved from the parish to Stamford Hill without any consultation', and in self-admonishment, and as a possible warning to others announced that such 'high handed action' had to be expected by those 'who are foolish enough to welcome Baden Powell Scouts into their parish'.⁴¹ Another example of inter-scout friction was seen at St Andrew Fulham Fields where in June 1914 it was reported that 'for the past year there has been a division in the ranks of the scouts of this parish [...] the cause [...] need not here be gone into'.⁴² There was no other information apart from the division being between Fulham Troop and St Andrew Troop and that all had been settled with all scouts now being part of St Andrew Troop.

The proliferation of differing scout troops, particularly apparent within the diocese of London with its plethora of choices including not only the nationally available BPBS but also the 'home grown' LDBS and LDCLB must have caused confusion both to clergy

³⁹ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Aug & Oct 1909.

⁴⁰ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Oct 1909.

⁴¹ LMA, P79/MTW/47, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1909-12 (Nov 1910): in 1903 the parish had had an LDCLB but there is no mention of this from 1906 onwards. The scout troop was formed in 1909 but after the events of 1910 the LDCLB is reformed 'to take the place of the band of scouts' (Jan 1911).

⁴² LMA, P77/AND/123/20, St Andrew Fulham Fields, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jun): it is unclear as to the affiliation of the two 'troops' mentioned but the original scout troop formed at St Andrew in 1909 was LDBS and later BPBS (P77/AND/123/16-17, Parish Magazines 1907-11 (Oct 1909 & Feb 1911)).

and laity at a local parish level. However, within a short period the BPBS became the dominant 'scout' force both nationally and within the diocese. By 1911 the strength of the scouts was put at nationally 113,909, the vast majority being BPBS with in addition 10,004 scoutmasters; on a combined basis these numbers were an increase of 15,918 on the previous year.⁴³ Numbers continued to increase and both Ferguson and Searle estimate membership of the BPBS in 1913 and 1914 respectively at 150,000.⁴⁴ Therefore within a two year period scouting generally, and specifically the BPBS, had attracted more devotees than all the other youth organisations combined. Such figures also allow for *The Times* 1914 estimate of 300,000 between the various organisations to be within reach, with in excess of fifty percent being 'scouts'.

The dominance of the BPBS was also reflected in membership numbers within the diocese of London. The numbers of troops and scouts within the LDBS were:⁴⁵

Date	Troops	Scouts
May 1910	55	
1911		2532
Jun 1912	85	
Dec 1912	89	2731
Jan 1914	90	3000

Over the same period other scouts, with the BPBS to the fore, saw a substantial increase in their number within those geographical areas of London that fell within the diocese:⁴⁶

⁴³ BL, Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of The Boy Scouts, Jan 1912: within this document are extracts from the 9th Annual Report (Jan 1918). In the same report the number of scoutmasters and assistant scoutmasters in the LDBS totalled 164.

⁴⁴ Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, p. 15; Searle, *A New England?*, p. 511.

⁴⁵ All dates are from the *London Diocesan Magazine*, apart from that for 1911 which is from the Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of The Boy Scouts, Jan 1912: within this document are extracts from the 9th Annual Report (Jan 1918).

⁴⁶ BL, Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of The Boy Scouts, Jan 1912 – within this document are extracts from the 9th Annual Report (Jan 1918).

London Area	1910	1911	1913
North	2137	2116	2264
East	1255	1076	1387
City	79	247	196
Westminster	216	362	446
North East	-	662	1042
West	1001	1095	1474
North West	2019	1729	2177
Middlesex	1157	1246	2127
TOTAL	6864	8533	11113

Figures are not available for the 'scouts' affiliated with the LDCLB, with only fleeting references in the archives for the years immediately preceding 1914. It is unlikely that membership levels were high, and probably did not match those for the LDBS, let alone the BPBS.

There are similarities between the growth patterns of the LDBS and the BPBS. In particular both indicate an initial rapid growth, which in the case of the BPBS continued through to 1913 when numbers had virtually doubled from those seen two years earlier. However in the case of the LDBS numbers are more static after 1910 and the fact that in early 1911 'the affiliation of the LDBS corps to the Boy Scouts (Baden-Powell's) has now been carried out,' may have been a major influence on future membership trends.⁴⁷ This decision to affiliate appears to have been at odds with the object of the Diocesan Council to 'maintain a Boy Scout Corps on church lines in the Diocese' but may have been an acknowledgement of the reality of the situation evidenced by the difference in membership levels of the two organisations. It had been pre-empted a year earlier when one parish observed that 'the Bishop of London has recently been pressing the new

⁴⁷ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Mar 1911.

organisation of General Baden-Powell into public notice'.⁴⁸ Overall therefore by 1914 the LDBS and the BPBS in the diocese of London had a combined membership in the region of 15,000.⁴⁹ These figures indicate that within four to five years scout membership within the diocese was about double that of the LDCLB; an organisation that had been in existence for in excess of twenty years. Therefore on the eve of the outbreak of war in 1914 scout and brigade membership in the diocese of London were less than 25,000.⁵⁰ This does not seem a particularly high figure and must raise questions about Beckett's 41%.⁵¹

There is one general caveat that would actually decrease the total when assessing membership numbers, both nationally and within the diocese of London. There were instances of dual membership particularly between the scouts and the various 'brigades.' This duality was not at variance with Baden-Powell's initial vision, as when starting the Boy Scout movement in 1908 he stated that he had 'intended that it should be used by existing Boys' organisations'.⁵² An example of this rapport was evident in 1910 in Shrewsbury where the 'boy scout scheme has warmly been taken up by members of the Shrewsbury Companies of the CLB'.⁵³ This dual membership also extended to the officers; Capt S. J. Rust was an officer both in the LDCLB and the scouts in one Islington

⁴⁸ LMA, DRO30/E1/21, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1910 (Apr).

⁴⁹ In the Parish Magazine of September 1914 for St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate (LMA, DRO/070/371) the vicar wrote that 'by August 13th the 25,000 Boy Scouts in the London County Council area were mobilised and ready for instant civil service,' – this figure of course includes areas south of the Thames.

⁵⁰ 15,000 in Scouts; 7500 in LDCLB; and various hundreds elsewhere (other 'scouts', BB, Jewish & Catholic).

⁵¹ Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms', p. 5.

⁵² SA, *Boy Scouts' Headquarters Gazette*, Jul 1909, Vol. 1 No.1.

⁵³ Shropshire Record Centre (SRC), MSS 3226, Shrewsbury Boy Scout Association Minute Book, 1910-13: entry 31 Jan 1910.

parish in 1914.⁵⁴ It also applied to other youth organisations. The parish of St James West Streatham, in the diocese of Southwark, reported in 1912 that four of its BB members had not attended a parade on 13 February as they were at the 'scouts'.⁵⁵ There is insufficient evidence available to estimate the level of joint membership, but its negative effect upon overall numbers of 'lads' involved in the various youth movements should be borne in mind.⁵⁶

The involvement of the Church of England with the CLB, the LDCLB and the LDBS was self evident with these three organisations having been run on 'church lines.' However both nationally and within the diocese of London the alternatives available, primarily the BB and the BPBS, were either multi-denominational or had no specific religious adherence. As discussed above attempts were made within the diocese of London to 'ring-fence' the specific Church organisations but, particularly in the case of the BPBS, the reality of the situation meant that this non-denominational organisation had to be accepted and involved within the diocesan and parish structure. However the relationship of the clergy and parishioners with these organisations needs to be gauged in order to ascertain the involvement of the Church of England generally and the diocese of London specifically.

⁵⁴ LMA, P83/LUK/80, St Luke, West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1914: it is not stated which scout organisation the parish troop was affiliated to but it was most likely the BPBS as in April 1913 there was a 'Baden-Powell presentation to our scouts.' The LDCLB at the parish worked closely with the scouts on the basis that 'by thus co-ordinating the work we shall strengthen it' (P83/LUK/79/1-10 St Luke West Holloway Parish Magazines 1913 (Apr & May)).

⁵⁵ LMA, P95/JS1/91/1-10, St James West Streatham, Boys' Brigade Roll Book 1910-13: in addition to these 4 there were a further 7 absent 'working' and one at choir practice. Other parades had been cancelled 'due to the small number attending.'

⁵⁶ It is noticeable that in those instances in parish magazines where the weekly meetings of the various parish organisations were listed in detail and where there were more than one youth organisation the meetings of the parish 'brigade' and 'troop' were at different times. Either they follow each other or are on different days. However whilst this might imply that the reason for the different times was because an officer or a lad, who was party to two organisations could not be in two places at once, it could merely be a reflection on a shortage of suitable venues for the various activities.

In the case of the BB the involvement of the Church of England and the diocese of London were apparent across the period but at a level that was reasonably static and low key. In 1903 the County of London which included parts of the diocese of Southwark together with parts of the diocese of London recorded eighteen parishes with BB association. This number was low when compared with the thirty-one parishes with CLB companies south of the Thames and the fifty-nine parishes with LDCLB companies north of the Thames.⁵⁷ There were also examples of parishes that had more than one youth organisation: for instance south of the Thames, the parishes of St Barnabas Bermondsey and All Saints Woolwich both had a BB and a CLB whilst in the diocese of London, St Mary North End Fulham and All Saints Islington had a BB and a LDCLB. Looking specifically at those parishes within the diocese of London with BB companies the number decreased in the years prior to 1914:⁵⁸

Year	No. of BB	Average Membership
1901-02	17	35
1905-06	11	42
1909-10	7	31
1913-14	9	36

The number of parishes involved was low when compared with the total parishes within the diocese throughout those years. However membership levels in the companies were comparable with other youth organisations. Certain parishes had BB involvement for substantial periods. The BB at St James Paddington was started in 1896 and was still in

⁵⁷ LMA, ACC/1926/C/121, The Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys and Girls of London – First Annual Report 1903, pp. 40-99: The review did not include any Middlesex parishes.

⁵⁸ Boys' Brigade Archives (BB), *Boys' Brigade London Reports*: all figures taken from the *Report* for the relevant years.

existence in 1914.⁵⁹ In 1899 at St Paul Canonbury Islington an 'inaugural meeting of the long contemplated movement to form a Company of the BB' was held; one of the aims of the brigade was 'to supply the much needed link between the Sunday Schools and confirmation'.⁶⁰ In 1907 the BB was replaced by the formation of an LDCLB Company which was still in existence in 1914. Overall however BB involvement within the parishes of the diocese was never substantial and by the second decade of the twentieth century was declining. This direct association of a BB company with a specific Church of England parish was not the norm as generally the majority of local companies were not affiliated to a particular parish but more to a generalised local area or other denominational church. In those instances the assumption would be that the local parish of the Church of England would have less influence within the BB. Conversely brigade influence within the parish, would also be less than in the case of the CLB or LDCLB which being maintained on 'church lines' were part of the parish fabric.

There is little doubt that the Church of England was involved with the 'scouting' movement from its inception. In 1909 mention was made of 'Boy Scouts' in the parish magazine of one Downham Market parish.⁶¹ In the following year in Shropshire at a meeting of the nascent Shrewsbury Boy Scout Association clergy from four of the Church of England parishes in the town were present.⁶² Two years later reference was made to Boy Scouts and a CLB at St Mary Harlow.⁶³ The formation of scouts within the existing LDCLB and the creation of the separate organisation of the LDBS by the diocese

⁵⁹ LMA, P87/JS/127-128 & P87/JS/62, St James Paddington, Parish Magazines 1887-1903 (May 1897) & Churchwardens' Yearly Record Jan 1911- Dec 1915, p. 25.

⁶⁰ LMA, P83/PAU1/83 & 66, St Paul Canonbury, Parish Magazines 1898-99 (Oct 1899) & Annual Reports 1899-1905 (1899-1900).

⁶¹ St Edmund King & Martyr Downham Market, Parish Magazine Feb 1909: (in the possession of the writer).

⁶² SRC, MSS 3226, Shrewsbury Boy Scout Association Minute Book 1910-13: meeting on 21 May 1910.

⁶³ St Mary Harlow, Parish Magazine Jan 1912: (in the possession of the writer).

of London in response to the perceived threat from scouting and in particular the BPBS has already been discussed. The Church nationally also had concerns in respect of the BPBS. In December 1909 Sir Herbert Plumer had written to Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury requesting support for the BPBS.⁶⁴ On 22nd December Davidson had replied that 'the subject is causing me some perplexity owing to the fears of some of those who have been foremost in supporting the CLB that the scouts movement will virtually destroy what they have been trying to build up and this without replacing it by anything which has a definitely religious character [...] I think these fears are exaggerated'.⁶⁵ The lack of a religious identity to the BPBS did not sit well with those who championed the 'church lines' of the CLB and LDCLB. Whilst their concern that scouting would 'virtually destroy' the CLB was considered to be exaggerated by Davidson, as already discussed between 1910 and 1914 membership levels of the CLB and LDCLB both became static whilst the BPBS prospered.

Despite the concerns expressed in respect of the lack of a religious element in the BPBS, the movement's allure was difficult to resist. In a memo dated 18 March 1910 Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of York and Davidson outlined how the scouts and the existing brigades would inter-relate. Later that month Lang wrote to Davidson that 'I think we agreed that we ought to wait till we saw how far negotiations between the Boy Scouts and the CLB proceed before we attempted to bring in the LDCLB, I know they are rather touchy people and they might resent being asked to accept a scheme'.⁶⁶ The comments in respect of the 'rather touchy people' at the LDCLB possibly reflected the problems that the CLB had had and continued to have in its relationship with the LDCLB. It is

⁶⁴ Plumer had led the Rhodesian force that had relieved Baden-Powell at Mafeking in 1900.

⁶⁵ LPL, Davidson 485, ff 1-97.

⁶⁶ LPL Davidson 485 ff 1-97: memo is dated 18 March and the letter 28 March.

interesting that no mention was made of the LDBS which possibly would suffer more directly from the growth of the BPBS than would its sister organisation the LDCLB, and this may have reflected the fact that the affiliation, that was to take place in early 1911, between the LDBS and the BPBS was already being considered.

Church of England clergy were actively involved in the BPBS. However over the four years preceding August 1914 the clergy's involvement and role within the BPBS changed from that of scoutmaster and assistant scoutmaster to chaplains. This was a position from which they would have had less influence on the day to day running of the troop and its stance in respect of the issues facing the organisation, including its response to any military influences that may have been exerted upon it. This change in role was apparent from the monthly *Headquarters Gazette* which detailed the previous four weeks appointments of scoutmaster and assistant scoutmaster warrants together with new chaplains. The following table highlights the decrease in the number of new warrants issued to clergy when compared with the total warrants for the period 23 Dec to 23 Jan over the four years prior to the First World War:⁶⁷

Date Dec-Jan	Total Number Of Warrants	Number of Clergy Warrants	Number of New Chaplains
1910-11	240	18	5
1911-12	216	7	19
1912-13	294	2	48
1913-14	300	11	26

The attitudes and preferences of the leadership team of scoutmaster and his assistant were influential in defining the priorities and specialisms of the troop for which they had

⁶⁷ SA, the figures are taken from the following issues: Feb 1911, Feb 1912, Feb 1913, & Feb 1914.

responsibility. The importance of the roles of the scoutmaster and his assistant was well understood at the time and one contemporary observer expressed concern that 'the haphazard system, by which almost anyone offering his services is granted a scoutmaster's warrant, results sometimes in very unsatisfactory persons being placed in command'.⁶⁸ In the diocese of London the acknowledgement of the perceived influence was evident in the Constitution of the 1st Enfield (St James's) Troop of the Baden Powell Boy Scouts at St James parish Enfield. The 'constitution' took the form of an 'agreement' between the scoutmaster, Rev. Augustus Richard Browne, curate at St James, and Rev. Joseph Leonard Boulden, vicar of St James, and stipulated that amongst other requirements the scoutmaster 'if possible be a priest' and that the assistant scoutmasters should be communicants.⁶⁹ Therefore the decline in the number of clergy as scoutmasters would have impacted upon their ability to influence the development of the BPBS troop. Whether the clergy were sidelined by more powerful pressure groups within the scout movement, or voluntarily retrenched to what they perceived to be a role more in keeping with their calling is open to discussion.

The Church of England was associated therefore with the range of youth organisations that were established in the decades preceding the outbreak of the First World War. In the immediate pre-war years with the growth of the scouting movement the local clergy and laity had more choice as to which organisation, if any, they would introduce into the parish. Inherent within this capacity to choose was the opportunity to

⁶⁸ Atkinson, 'A National Cadet Army', p. 774: further references in the article to the influence and involvement of clergy in the Brigade and Cadet movements were very detrimental preferring 'a non-intervening vicar' to a 'militant parson major' (p. 783).

⁶⁹ LMA, DRO54/102, St James Enfield, Constitution of the 1st Enfield (St James's) Troop of the Baden Powell Boy Scouts. Boulden had been vicar at St James since 1895 and was also chaplain at the Royal Small Arms Factory based at Enfield Lock in his parish. In 1912 the No 6 Company of the 5th Middlesex Cadet Battalion LDCLB was listed as 'Enfield Lock' and not a specific parish.

assess the varying attributes and associations of the differing organisations and this would have included the perception of any militarism displayed by a particular organisation.

Some later commentators see little difference in the relationship of the various youth organisations to the military influences of the age. Springhall describes the BB as having 'organizational forms more in keeping with an age of nationalism and militarism,' an assessment he also passes on the CLB which he considers to have a 'military organisation'.⁷⁰ He also argues that 'the early years of the Boy Scouts can only be understood [...] within the prevailing military culture'.⁷¹ This stance is reiterated by Brown when he argues that 'muscular Christianity took on militaristic [...] overtones in the Volunteers (founded 1860) the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society (1866) the Boys' Brigade (1883) and later in the Church Lads' Brigade and the Scouting movement'.⁷² Springhall's views are in certain aspects endorsed by Warren, who sees the CLB as a 'quasi-military formation' with 'military titles,' however in respect of scouting Warren describes a 'plural' organisation 'incorporating military educational and religious aspirations'.⁷³ Wolffe refers to this triumvirate as a blend of 'religious, patriotic and military inspiration'.⁷⁴ Therefore the view of many commentators is that militarism was inherently embedded within the youth organisations of the late nineteenth century from their inception, and that this militarism was also evident within the emerging scout movements of the next decade. No gradations of militarism within the youth organisations are assumed and its influence is seen as a constant during the pre-war

⁷⁰ Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society*, p. 17 & 19.

⁷¹ Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement', p. 937.

⁷² Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 96: Brown attributes these comments to Springhall.

⁷³ Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training', p. 382; Warren, 'Baden-Powell: A Final Comment', p. 948.

⁷⁴ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 230.

decades. This has in some ways led to sterility in the debate concerning certain militaristic aspects of the various youth brigades, but there continues to be debate as to the military nature of certain aspects of scouting in general, and the BPBS in particular.

Like Springhall and Brown most commentators on scouting acknowledge some element of 'militarism' in its pre-1914 years but it is the differing emphasis they place on this that informs the debate. Some argue that the BPBS were not immersed in a militaristic environment. Rosenthal comments that historians 'have tended to find in scouting far more militaristic features than its advocates would admit'.⁷⁵ Reader argues, when discussing Baden Powell, that there was 'no reason to doubt his sincerity that no military intention underlay scouting', and Warren emphasises the organisation's plurality, commenting that the BPBS 'vigorously maintain an opposition to military training'.⁷⁶ The Warren article elicited responses from Summers and Springhall in October 1987. Summers sees the scouts 'implicated in the militaristic concerns of the pre-war years' and being prepared to respond in an 'uncritical and even enthusiastic manner to the outbreak of war,' whilst Springhall considers that the early years of scouting 'saw scout training as travelling to the *same destination* of greater military efficiency as cadet training'.⁷⁷ Others see an even more strident militarism, with scouting being described by Ronald Hyam as 'an attempt to inculcate some sort of demotic manly 'warrior tradition' into British youth,' whilst MacDonald merely acknowledged that 'the outward and visible signs of scouting were military'.⁷⁸ Bearing in mind the acknowledged influence of the

⁷⁵ Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers', p. 607.

⁷⁶ Reader, *At Duty's Call*, p. 77; Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training', p. 376.

⁷⁷ Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADS', pp. 943 & 947; Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement', p. 937 (emphasis in the original).

⁷⁸ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 73; MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*, p. 186.

local scoutmaster in the development of his troop, particularly important and influential in the early pre-war years of scouting, perhaps Warren's description of an organisation that 'was not uniform but plural' best described the differing responses seen at a local level.⁷⁹ This lack of uniformity, together with the plurality of purpose, could also apply to the other youth organisations of the time. McLeod argues that the 'main initial aim' of the various brigades 'was probably to integrate working class youth into the religious community' with a subsidiary aim that 'was simply to keep the youngsters off the street'.⁸⁰

The contemporary view of the various organisations also reflected the dichotomy of the 'warrior' and the 'lamb'. The warrior was proclaimed by the organisations themselves in certain of their literature which highlighted the military aspect of some of their aims and actions, which was also acknowledged by some contemporary commentators. The LDCLB defined its objects as promoting 'habits of reverence obedience, self-control and all that tends towards Christian Manliness' and the first method listed as a means of achieving this objective was 'military organisation and drill'.⁸¹ The Charity Organisation Society in its 1893 report on the CLB declared that 'the system on which the thing is worked is very military'.⁸² In 1896 the parish magazine of St John South Hackney declared that in the LDCLB 'everything is done on a military basis,' whilst in the next decade the headmaster of Rossall School referred to the CLB having 'deliberately selected military training'.⁸³ A Major in the CLB in Shrewsbury wrote in 1904 that 'it is

⁷⁹ Warren, 'Baden-Powell: A Final Comment', p. 948.

⁸⁰ McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 153.

⁸¹ CLCGB, LDCLB Handbook 1900, p. 3.

⁸² LMA, A/FWA/C/D230/1, Charity Organisation Society, Church Lad's Brigade 1893-1941: Outline of the CLB dated 26 May 1893, this document also lists 'military discipline' as the first object of the CLB.

⁸³ LMA, P79/JNJ/401, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1896 (Jan); Way, 'Military Training', p. 209.

always a point of honour with our Brigade Lads that they should join either Volunteers or Regulars on leaving the Brigade and we intend to do all we can to encourage the Military Spirit'.⁸⁴

Concerns were expressed in respect of the military nature of the CLB and the LDCLB and in a counterpoint to these accusations the religious and social aspects of the brigades were emphasised. In 1902 a contentious debate took place in the *Church Times* following a letter accusing the head office of the CLB of 'putting forward the military side of the organisation at the expense of the spiritual work' and of creating an environment in which 'militarism [...] abounds'.⁸⁵ Other comments highlighted the duality of the brigades; in 1901 the new Bishop of London, Winnington-Ingram, acknowledged this when he rhetorically asked in respect of the LDCLB 'but how much church is there in all this?' only to answer that it is 'a religious duty to look after the body as well as the soul'.⁸⁶ A further declaration of the dual role was made in 1913 when the 'system of training within the CLB and LDCLB' was described as being 'absolutely satisfactory not only from the 'church' but from the 'military' standpoint'.⁸⁷ The class and social imperatives that drove some parishes in the diocese of London in respect of officer recruitment, and the non-military need to gain a foothold in the new suburban parishes will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

⁸⁴ CLCGB, Letter dated 12 Nov 1904 written to *The Knights of the Prince of Peace* an organisation whose stated objects were 'the formation of a Band of Young People who see in militarism a grave national danger. The Hon. Secretary was Rev W. J. Spriggs-Smith of St John Terrington, Wisbech. The letter from the Major was in response to a pamphlet sent by the 'Knights' to the CLBs and BBs, a copy of which is held at the CLCGB archive.

⁸⁵ *Church Times*, 20 & 25 June 1902, p. 760 & 792.

⁸⁶ *Church Times*, 26 Apr 1901, p. 491: Mandell Creighton had died in January 1900, Winnington-Ingram was nominated on 16 March 1901 and confirmed as Bishop of London on 17 April

⁸⁷ *The Territorial Cadet Magazine and Naval Cadets Journal*, Issue 3 (Mar 1913): 'Church Lads' Brigade Notes', 275-6.

Certain parishes within the diocese of London highlighted the religious aspects of the LDCLB as a balance against the military trappings. This need to highlight the religious might be construed as an acknowledgement that the perceived wisdom of the time was that the LDCLB was military in nature. The emphasis on the religious elements was apparent from the beginning: in 1895 the St Saviour Hampstead parish magazine commented that ‘as an indication that the religious side of this organisation is by no means lost [...] eight members of our Brigade have just been confirmed’.⁸⁸ In 1896 the parish of St John South Hackney described the LDCLB as ‘no mere playing at soldiers, it is a grand church movement’.⁸⁹ A similar comment was made in 1911 when the vicar of St Alban Acton Green declared that the ‘Brigade is a definite religious organisation not merely playing at soldiers’.⁹⁰ Almost apologetic in tone the vicar of St Paul Haringey in 1909 acknowledged that ‘although the majority of the doings chronicled in these notices’ on the actions of the parish LDCLB, ‘are of at least a semi-military nature the chief object of the brigade is and always has been Church work’.⁹¹ In 1910 the parish magazine of St Alban Fulham highlighted the non-military activities when it had reported that the LDCLB’s ‘usual routine of drill and musketry has been supplemented in 1909 by the addition of signalling, football, swimming, boxing, running and free gymnastics’.⁹² In 1914 St John Kentish Town emphasised the religious by affirming that ‘the first and foremost object the brigade aims at is to attach lads to ‘our Lord and His Church’’.⁹³

⁸⁸ LMA, P81/SAV/144-147, St Saviour Hampstead, Parish Magazines 1892-1902 (Apr 1895).

⁸⁹ LMA, P79/JNJ/401, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1896 (Jan).

⁹⁰ DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton Green, Parish Magazines Dec 1910 – Apr 1915 (Mar 1911); the brigade had only started in Jan 1911 and perhaps this comment was to allay parental fears.

⁹¹ LMA, DRO53/273, St Paul Haringey, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Oct 1909).

⁹² LMA P77/ALB/070, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1910 (Jan).

⁹³ LMA, P90/JNB/78, St John Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1914 (Apr).

What is noticeable is that there were more affirmations of the religious aspects of the LDCLB after scouting came to the fore.

One parish in the year of the organisation's formation described the LDBS as 'clear and definite in its religious purpose'.⁹⁴ However the pluralistic view of scouting generally continued as was evidenced from correspondence and articles in *The Times*. In September 1909 two letters were published under the heading 'The Boy Scout'. One was signed by 'A Worker' and ended 'the boy scout movement [...] should be the means of providing many thousands of the best sort of recruit for the Territorial Forces;' whilst the other was signed by A. H. Hogarth, Chairman of the East London District Council of Scoutmasters who wrote that 'the military ideal of scouting is quite contrary to the original expressed desire of its author'.⁹⁵ The following year in a article on the 'London Diocesan Boy Scouts – Parade Service in St Paul's' the paper reported that 'we are told there is no militarism attaching to the movement [but] it is absurd to argue that these two thousand boys who came so smartly to 'attention' at military command on Saturday were not actuated by a healthy sense of militarism'.⁹⁶ These various declarations only add to the fog of plurality that surrounds the purpose of the various brigades and troops. This lack of clarity was very evident at the parish of St Matthew Bethnal Green where in July 1909 scouts 'have come into existence' and, in response to a belief within the parish that scouts were 'designed to persuade boys to join the army', the vicar wrote that 'the boy scouts are not a military organisation, not so much even as the LDCLB'.⁹⁷ This tautological spin highlighted the problems caused by the plurality of objects and the similarities between

⁹⁴ LMA, DR0/070/369, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1909 (Nov).

⁹⁵ *The Times*, 13 Sep 1909, p. 4.

⁹⁶ *The Times*, 18 Aug 1910, p. 6.

⁹⁷ LMA, P72/MTW/326, St Matthew Bethnal Green, Parish Magazines 1909 (Jul).

the varying brigades and scouts, particularly in the public's perception. A clearer picture of the reality of the situation can be ascertained by analysing the associations and influences that impacted within the diocese at a local parish level on individual LDCLB companies and BPBS and LDBS patrols and troops. It is a given that all the brigades and troops drilled and marched, invariably undertaking the latter when on 'official duty' in conjunction with representatives from the armed forces. These activities could lead to a general view of militarism, by association. However, a more detailed assessment of Summers' 'wide and pervasive range of military or militaristic' influences and involvement at a parish level, would enable a more focussed analysis of the true levels of association with the military culture within the parish brigades and troops.⁹⁸

Direct association with the military was apparent through the involvement of local military men in the training of the brigades and troops. A very early mention of this was in 1892 at St Alban and St Mark Teddington where on 'Tuesday evenings, Sergeant-Major Beard of the East Surrey Regiment comes over from Kingston and instructs them in drill'.⁹⁹ In 1893 the LDCLB at Christ Church Lancaster Gate were 'drilled by an NCO of the Cadet Corps' and a year later undertook 'drill in the Royal Military Riding School Gloucester Crescent' and maintained an 'armoury [...] at Church House'.¹⁰⁰ In 1895 the parish magazine of St Stephen Hammersmith recorded that 'Mr. W. A. Stevens who is a member of the Volunteer Corps has kindly promised to help us' with the recently formed LDCLB.¹⁰¹ Later in the decade the initial captain of the LDCLB at Christ Church West

⁹⁸ Summers 'Militarism in Britain', p. 105.

⁹⁹ LMA, P84/MRY1/92, St Mary Boltons Kensington, Parish Magazines 1892-93: these include a copy of the November 1892 Teddington Magazine.

¹⁰⁰ LMA, P87/CTC/53-54, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parish Magazines & Parochial Reports 1893-1894 (PR 1893 & PM Jan 1894).

¹⁰¹ LMA, P80/STE/189, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1895 (Sep).

Green was a 'Colour Sergeant in the Bloomsbury Rifles' and a request for other officers, looked for gentlemen with 'some previous experience of Volunteering'.¹⁰² The importance of this military involvement was evident at St James Paddington where the BB, that had started in 1896, ceased when 'Captain Ralli went back from leave'.¹⁰³ In 1900 the recently formed LDCLB at St Michael at Bowes Southgate had three officers from the '1st Middlesex Regiment Volunteers' and in the following year the new LDCLB at All Souls Langham Place also had assistance in training from 'members of Volunteer Companies'.¹⁰⁴ In 1903 the new captain of the St Matthew Upper Clapton LDCLB had 'ten years experience in the Volunteers' and in 1907 'Sergeant Hartnett, Drill Instructor Haberdashers' School volunteered to run' the LDCLB at St Michael Cricklewood.¹⁰⁵ When contemplating forming a scout troop the parish magazine at St James Friern Barnet reported that as an assistant scoutmaster 'Mr Hainsworth's experience in the Territorials will be very useful,' and during the same period the parish of Christ Church West Green reported that their scoutmaster had 'four years service with the City of London Volunteer Corps'.¹⁰⁶

There were also instances where the drill hall, or some similar army premises, were utilised as a space in which the local company of the LDCLB could drill. The 1900 Handbook included addresses of premises used for drill. The company from the parish at

¹⁰² LMA, DRO30/E1/10, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1899 (Dec).

¹⁰³ LMA, P87/JS/128, St James Paddington, Parish Magazines 1897-1903 (May 1897): the BB re-started again in 1897 with assistance from two ex-Oxford graduates working in the City.

¹⁰⁴ LMA, DRO70/224-369, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1909 (Feb 1900); P89/ALS/145/1, All Souls Langham Place, Annual Reports 1886-1914 (May 1901).

¹⁰⁵ LMA, P79/MTW/46, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1903-09 (Sep 1903); DRO/095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines 1907-1912 (Oct 1907): this is an excellent example of the inter-relationship between the military the public school system and the local parish.

¹⁰⁶ LMA, DRO/12/1/K1/11, St James Friern Barnet, Parish Magazines 1909 (Nov); DRO30/E1/20, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1909 (Nov): this military association was still apparent in 1914 when the scoutmaster was 'recalled to his late-regiment the RFA (Territorials)' (DRO30/E1/25, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep)).

Holy Trinity Hoxton utilised the local drill hall in Robert Street, whilst Holy Trinity Stroud Green Hornsey used the drill hall in Hanbury Road Hornsey Vale. The LDCLB from St Andrew Hillingdon used the drill hall in Uxbridge, whilst Christ Church Roxeth and Harrow company utilised the drill hall of the 9th Middlesex in Northolt Road. The company at St Stephen Fulham Fields Hammersmith used the drill hall of the 3rd London Volunteers, and the LDCLB at All Saints St John's Wood used the Ordnance Barracks of the Royal Horse Artillery during the winter.¹⁰⁷

Having had military assistance in their training and in certain instances utilised army premises for drill, the proficiency of the brigades and scout troops was tested through involvement in military exercises and Field Days. In 1897 brigade competitions including 'drill with rifles [...] manual and firing exercises' were held at St Stephen Hammersmith and 'these competitions are carried out under strict military surveillance; officers of the Regular Army (unconnected to the Brigade) kindly consenting to be judges'.¹⁰⁸ In 1900 the parish of Holy Trinity Hoxton proudly announced that their LDCLB was to hold a 'Grand Military Tournament', and in the following year at the inaugural meeting of its LDCLB the parish of St Paul Haringey was entertained by 'good displays of [...] manual and firing exercises and changing guard' given by LDCLB companies from local parishes.¹⁰⁹ In October 1909 the same parish reported that 'an interesting attack was recently carried out in the grounds of Alexandra Palace' by the parish LDCLB.¹¹⁰ Earlier that year 'on Easter Monday' St Faith Brentford Company 'took part in a combined Field Day at Whitton, companies from St Lawrence Brentford, Spring Grove, Hounslow

¹⁰⁷ During the summer drill was undertaken in the local parish rooms.

¹⁰⁸ LMA, P80/STE/192, St Stephen Fulham Fields Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1897 (Feb).

¹⁰⁹ LMA, P91/TRI/76/1, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1898-1902 (Feb 1900); DRO53/273, St Paul Haringey, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Dec 1901).

¹¹⁰ LMA, DRO53/273, St Paul Haringey, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Oct 1909).

Whitton and Westminster forming an invading and defensive force'.¹¹¹ On Boxing Day 1909 the LDBS of St Andrew Hammersmith held their 'first big Field Day', and in November the following year they 'had an engagement with the St Stephen Shepherds Bush Troop'.¹¹² In 1910 St Alban Fulham LDCLB reported that 'on September 14 the long expected German invasion took place and all communication with our headquarters was cut off', and in the following year the parish magazine of St Alban Acton Green reported that at the inaugural meeting of the St Alban's (D) Company 24th Battalion 'a military and gymnastic display was performed' by various brigades.¹¹³ In 1913 it was reported that at St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate a 'combined Field Day has been arranged for North London Troops' of the LDBS, and in the following year the district parade held at Friary Park was inspected by 'Colonel Matthey of the London Rifle Brigade'.¹¹⁴ The Annual Display attended by St Stephen Hampstead LDCLB and held at Finsbury Road Baths in North London in December 1913 included 'bayonet' and 'Field Gun' drills.¹¹⁵ In Jan 1914 St Luke West Holloway reported that 'a very interesting dispatch run was held on 9th December [1913]; the vicarage was besieged by a Company of Infantry (our LDCLB Company) and a party of scouts (our Troop) in trying to carry a dispatch to the vicarage'.¹¹⁶

In addition to these military exercises visits to military installations or visits by local military figures were common. In 1894 the BB at All Saints South Acton reported that

¹¹¹ LMA, DRO76/54, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1909 (May).

¹¹² LMA, P77/AND/123/16-20, St Andrew Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1907-14 (Feb 1910 & Jan 1911).

¹¹³ LMA, P77/ALB/070, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1910 (Oct); DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton Green, Parish Magazines 1910-15 (Jan 1911).

¹¹⁴ LMA, DRO/070/37,1 St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish magazines 1912-14 (Mar 1913 & Jun 1914).

¹¹⁵ R&H, St Stephen Hampstead, LDCLB Brochure on Annual Display dated 18 December 1913.

¹¹⁶ LMA, P83/LUK/80, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan).

'seven boys [...] have spent a week at the Eastney Barracks, Portsmouth'.¹¹⁷ The LDCLB at St John South Hackney started a combined church parade with St Paul Haggerston from the Militia Barracks Shrubland Road in 1896; a year later they spent 'a week in Her Majesty's Royal Marine Barracks at Eastney near Southsea', and in September 1900 a 'military display was given including bayonet exercise' and later that year in December they attended a 'lecture on the war'.¹¹⁸ In 1901 the presentations at the St John company tea were given by Major G. Y. Baldock of the 3rd Volunteer Battalion the Essex Regiment 'who most kindly came down in uniform', and in the same year the LDCLB at St Michael at Bowes Southgate were entertained by a Lantern Lecture on the 'Heroism and Self Sacrifice of our Soldiers in the South African War'.¹¹⁹ In early 1910 the LDCLB at St Alban Fulham was visited by 'Colonel De Castro (ex Queen's Westminster Volunteers)' who gave a talk on discipline, and later that year they were inspected by Lieutenant Moore of the 4th Battalion City of London Regiment; in 1914 just prior to the outbreak of war the annual inspection was undertaken by 'Colonel Hayworth, Commanding the Grey Brigade (Territorials)'.¹²⁰

Another type of direct involvement with the military was through the War Office, from whom military hardware was purchased. This was utilised in shooting practices and competitions, sometimes on rifle ranges situated in premises provided by the local parish church. In 1900 the BB at St Paul Canonbury announced that 'rifles have been purchased' and the LDCLB at St John South Hackney reported that 'we have received a number of

¹¹⁷ LMA, DRO/056/033-034, All Saints South Acton Parish Magazines, 1892-94 (Sep 1894): these are the same barracks that were to be utilised by the LDCLB from St John South Hackney in 1897.

¹¹⁸ LMA, P79/JNJ/401-406, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1896-1901 (Jun 1896, Sep 1897, Sep 1900 & Jan 1901).

¹¹⁹ LMA, P79/JNJ/406, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1901 (Mar); DRO70/224-371, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Apr 1901).

¹²⁰ LMA, P77/ALB/070 & 074, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1910 (Feb & Nov) & 1914 (Jul).

military carbines from the government at a cost of 2/- each'.¹²¹ In 1902 whilst the LDCLB at St Matthew Upper Clapton reported that 'new carbines are wanted' that at St James Friern Barnet announced that 'carbines [were] being provided'.¹²² In the same year the vicar at Holy Trinity Hoxton reported that 'I had the privilege of opening the new target practice the other night', and in 1905 a display by the brigade at St John Kentish Town included a 'bayonet exercise'.¹²³ In 1906 the parish of Christ Church West Green reported that '35 carbines have been obtained from the War Office – very reasonably'.¹²⁴ In the same year the parish of St Faith Brentford reported that 'shooting at the new miniature rifle range will be of great interest in the coming months' to the parish LDCLB; and this obviously improved the brigade's accuracy as in 1911 they reported on 'again winning the Battalion Cup for shooting'.¹²⁵ The parish magazine of St John Notting Hill, Ladbrooke Grove announced in 1906 that 'a rifle range has been formed under the hall' to be used by the recently formed LDCLB.¹²⁶ In the following year the parish of St Thomas Stamford Hill reported that 'the new range under St Thomas church was opened on 1 November [1906] between that date and 16 February forty lads belonging to the company have had opportunity for practice'.¹²⁷ In the same year the parish brigade of St Columba Haggerston reported that by Easter it would 'have 24 army carbines'.¹²⁸ A year later St Michael Cricklewood LDCLB were advised that they 'can use Hendon and Cricklewood

¹²¹ LMA, P83/PAU/66, St Paul Canonbury, Annual Reports 1899-1905 (1899-1900); P79/JNJ/405, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1900 (Nov).

¹²² LMA, P79/MTW/45, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1899-1903 (Apr 1902); DRO/12/1/K1/4, St James Friern Barnet, Parish Magazines 1894-1902 (Jun 1902).

¹²³ LMA, P91/TRI/76/1, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1898-1902 (Apr 1902); P90/JNB/69, St John, Kentish Town Parish Magazines 1905 (Jan).

¹²⁴ LMA, DRO30/E1/16-17, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1905-06 (Aug 1906).

¹²⁵ LMA, DRO76/52 & 56, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1906 (Jan) & 1911 (Aug).

¹²⁶ LMA, P84/JN/123, St John Notting Hill, Year Books 1880-1907 (1906).

¹²⁷ LMA, P79TMS/19, St Thomas Stamford Hill, Parish Magazines 1901-09 (Mar 1907).

¹²⁸ LMA, P91/COL/125, St Columba Haggerston Hackney, Parish Magazines 1907-08 (Feb 1907).

Rifle Club Miniature Range;’ and later that year St Andrew Willesden reported that ‘our carbines have at last arrived from the War Office’.¹²⁹ In the same year the parish of All Souls Langham Place announced that ‘the miniature rifle range is a great attraction,’ and elsewhere the brigade at St Alban Fulham held a shooting competition against St Saviour Shepherds Bush.¹³⁰ In 1909 the annual report of St John West Chelsea commented on the ‘club rooms and rifle range’ of the LDCLB.¹³¹ The 1910 annual report of Holy Trinity Brompton commented on the ‘LDCLB, the rifle range and the Boy Scouts’, and in the same year the brigade at St Alban Fulham took part in an inter-sectional shooting competition.¹³² Three years later in 1913 the parish of St Luke Holloway reported that ‘a miniature rifle range has been fitted up at the Mission Hall for the use of our LDCLB and Scouts’, and that in addition the brigade was now ‘equipped with bayonets’.¹³³

The preponderance of rifle shooting, and the use of church premises for rifle ranges, merely reflected the popularity of this activity during the pre-war years and Summers considers this as one of the arbiters of the country taking on militaristic modes.¹³⁴ In 1911 a contemporary view was that since the Boer War ‘the number of clubs started is roughly about 3000’.¹³⁵ By 1914 in an article on the Rifle Union, a new association, the number of rifle clubs at the end of 1912 was quoted at 2517, with membership of 139,767, ‘and

¹²⁹ LMA, DRO/095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines 1907-1912 (Mar 1908); DRO/099/138, St Andrew Willesden, Parish Magazines 1906-08 (Nov 1908).

¹³⁰ LMA, P89/ALS/145/1, All Souls Langham Place, Annual Reports 1886-1914 (1908); P77/ALB/68, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1908 (Jan).

¹³¹ LMA, P74/JN/30, St John West Chelsea, Annual Reports 1909-16 (1909).

¹³² LMA, P84/TRI2/152, Holy Trinity Brompton, Annual Report 1910; P77/ALB/070, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1910 (Apr).

¹³³ LMA, P83/LUK/79/1-10, St Luke Holloway, Parish Magazines 1913 (Dec).

¹³⁴ Summers ‘Militarism in Britain’, p. 107.

¹³⁵ Letter to *The Times*, 14 Jul 1911, p. 6: from Lord Sudeley who commented on the formation during the past ten years of the National Rifle Association and the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs.

there are now probably close upon 200,000 members'.¹³⁶ Whilst not consistent in specific numbers, the popularity is confirmed by the growth in clubs reported by the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs, from 221 in 1905 to 'nearly 3800 in 1913'.¹³⁷

This growth period was mirrored by the pattern seen both in the acquisition of military carbines and the creation and utilisation of rifle ranges by certain parishes of the diocese, which were heavily biased towards the post-Boer War period. Throughout this period there are also various references to the popularity of rifle shooting. Rev. Way thought that 'some practice in shooting should be made part of the routine of every school', and in its *Report and Balance Sheet* for 1908 the NSL noted under the title 'Military Training for Lads' that rifle shooting was 'being started in many Elementary Schools [...] the grant of miniature rifles by the League to Working Lads' Clubs and Organisations is of great assistance'.¹³⁸ In 1910 the *Penny Illustrated* commented that 'shooting has lately come much to the fore', and in October 1912 'the first of what it is hoped will prove to be a series of annual 'Civilian Bisleys'' was held.¹³⁹ The popularity of shooting was also becoming less socially elitist and Alan Penn comments that efforts were made to include other classes through the Working Men's Rifle Clubs, and transportable ranges.¹⁴⁰

Shooting was not just a sporting pastime, and its association with the military was evident when the secretary of the Miniature Rifle Clubs considered himself to be 'in a position to offer the War Office the names of 200,000 men who through our various rifle clubs have become skilled in the handling of a weapon'; an attribute that 'constitutes

¹³⁶ *The Times*, 19 Jan 1914, p. 4.

¹³⁷ *The Times*, 27 July 1905, p. 11 & 17 Dec 1913, p. 5.

¹³⁸ Way, 'Military Training', p. 214; *NSL Report and Balance Sheet* 6th AGM.

¹³⁹ *Penny Illustrated*, 2 Apr 1910, p. 4; *The Times*, 7 Oct 1912, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Alan Penn, *Targeting Schools: Drill Militarism and Imperialism* (London: Woburn Press, 1999); *The Times*, 16 Dec 1901, p. 6 'Working Men's Rifle Clubs'.

four-fifths of the training of a soldier'.¹⁴¹ A contemporary view however, by one of the sportsmen of the day, was that whilst he wanted to 'see rifle shooting [...] parallel with cricket, football and the rest,' he did not think this would encourage militarism, which he considered 'to the last degree abominable', but was merely evidence of the introduction of a 'martial element into our peaceful national pastimes'.¹⁴² This tautology does not conceal the inherent association between shooting and a 'military spirit' which was apparent at the City of London School, where an appeal in the school magazine from 'A Shooter who won't Cadet' for a rifle club, that was not affiliated or associated with the Cadet Corps, was unsuccessful.¹⁴³

The utilisation of rifles purchased from the War Office and the provision of rifle ranges added to a relationship between the army and some parishes of the diocese that had already been enhanced by the use of army personnel in the training of the brigades and troops and their subsequent involvement in army exercises, Field Days and Camp visits. Certain sections of the Church of England had a concern in respect of shooting and Rifle Clubs, for whilst it supported the development and growth in this area through the youth brigades and troops, it was ill at ease with the habit of shooting on a Sunday. In 1901 during a discussion at the Church Congress on Sunday Observance and the secularisation of Sunday, criticism was made of the *Spectator* and a suggestion that publication had made that 'village Rifle Clubs should be open on Sunday afternoons'.¹⁴⁴ Variations of this issue continued and at the June 1906 Bishops Meeting 'the general consensus of opinion was against' the request by Winnington-Ingram, Bishop of London

¹⁴¹ *Penny Illustrated*, 2 April 1910, p. 4.

¹⁴² *The Times*, 21 Dec 1905, p. 7: Article 'The Blot on British Games' reporting on an article by C B Fry, the cricketer, in the Jan 1906 issue of his *Magazine*.

¹⁴³ Douglas-Smith, *The History of the City of London School*, p. 329.

¹⁴⁴ *The Times*, 4 Oct 1901, p. 6.

that the Church give approval for 'Sunday Rifle Shooting for Rifle Clubs'.¹⁴⁵ Similar disquiet regarding Sundays had been evident in 1913 when the Archbishop of Canterbury had written to the War Office, who had advised him that it was 'doing its best to restrict Sunday shooting' by the Territorial Association.¹⁴⁶ One final comment on the debate on shooting might possibly be left to Captain Robert Findin Davies, a parishioner of St Saviour Hampstead. Davies saw action in the South African War and having retired from the army in 1908 he rejoined in August 1914. He was killed in 1916 on the Somme. His obituary in the St Saviour Book of Remembrance mentioned that he won the 1906 King's prize at Bisley and that he saw rifle shooting as an activity to 'preserve national safety' and not as 'a sport to amuse.'¹⁴⁷ Davies embodied Summers 'citizenry united in the defence of the homeland', and the growth in popularity of rifle shooting increased, albeit in many cases subliminally, the acceptance of military modes of thinking.¹⁴⁸

The military associations with the parish brigades and troops, already discussed in this chapter, were considered inadequate by the clergy at one parish. In 1899 an LDCLB was formed at Christ Church West Green Tottenham.¹⁴⁹ Initially it was very successful but by the end of 1902 it had passed through a period where the initial enthusiasm had subsided and membership levels had 'dropped off sadly of late'.¹⁵⁰ In early 1903 Thomas Milner, curate at the parish and captain of the company, decided that 'in order to stimulate our lads to new energy we have decided to make what is practically a fresh start'.¹⁵¹ The name of the organisation was changed from the LDCLB to the Church of England Rifle

¹⁴⁵ LPL BM4, Bishops' Meetings 1897-1907, (20/21 June 1906).

¹⁴⁶ LPL, BM5, Bishops' Meetings 1907-13: An Agenda item 'The Territorials and Use of Sunday' was included in the meetings of 22/23 Oct 1912 and 30/31 Jan 1913.

¹⁴⁷ LMA, P81/SAV/157, St Saviour Hampstead, Book of Remembrance 1914-18.

¹⁴⁸ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 107.

¹⁴⁹ LMA, DRO30/E1/10, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1899 (Sep).

¹⁵⁰ LMA, DRO30/E1/13, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1902 (Dec).

¹⁵¹ LMA, DRO30/E1/14, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1903 (Mar).

Cadets (CERC). This new organisation intended to 'enrol a higher standard and older type of lads' and 'as soon as we can afford it we are going for a private rifle range', and in addition 'the companies will be [...] under the auspicious Presidency of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts KG VC, Commander-in-Chief'.¹⁵² Milner left the parish in 1905 and the CERC was short lived and ceased in 1907. However there was a real military flavour about the CERC and at the presentation ceremony given to Milner upon him leaving the parish he was referred to as 'Commandant'.¹⁵³ The CERC acts as a reminder that there were those who considered that, whatever levels of military association were present within the existing LDCLB, they were inadequate.

Most of the above examples given in respect of local parish involvement with military culture and practices were in respect of the LDCLB, although there were some for the BB and scouting organisations. This bias reflected the numbers involved within the diocese in the LDCLB, compared with the BB and of course the fact that the scouts were only a later addition to the youth movement. However, as by 1914 the number of scouts in the BPBS within the diocese and the country as a whole far outweighed that of the other youth movements, it is appropriate when judging 'militarism' within the scouts to look outside the diocese of London for further examples. In 1908 a letter from B. F. Howard of the BPBS in *The Patriot*, the journal of the Essex NSL, commented that the Epping Forest District of the BPBS 'have now a considerable number of territorial soldiers as officers [...] and hope each year to be enabled to furnish considerable numbers of partially-trained recruits to the Essex Territorial units'.¹⁵⁴ In the following year the same writer advised that the 'Essex Branch of the NSL have presented a silver and bronze

¹⁵² LMA, DRO30/E1/14, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1903 (Mar).

¹⁵³ LMA, DRO30/E1/16, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1905 (Jun & Aug).

¹⁵⁴ *The Patriot*, Dec 1908.

medal for the best two shots of the year' to the 2nd (All Saints) Woodford Troop of the BPBS.¹⁵⁵ This particular troop was associated with the 1st Woodford Troop BPBS based in Woodford Green which 'was formed in May last [1908] largely from the 2nd South Essex Company of the BB' and had 'the use of 30 Martini Enfield carbines'.¹⁵⁶ In addition to these specific examples of BPBS involvement with the military, the public persona of the scouts was moulded by the company they kept. Through this, and some of their actions, they became associated in the public mind with other military aspects of pre-war society. In 1909 at the Lord Mayor's Show in London they were mentioned along with acknowledged military representatives; 'the usual emblematic cars were exchanged for a naval and military display including detachments of Naval Volunteers, Territorials, Regulars and Boy Scouts'.¹⁵⁷ The same event the following year drew the comment that 'the show was partly a military display in which the Territorial element, the Boy Scouts and Lord Roberts' boy marksmen were conspicuous', and in 1911 at the Empire Day celebrations the Baden-Powell Scouts were linked with the Navy League.¹⁵⁸ With such publicity by association, even Haldane could link the Scouts and the Cadets together, when commenting on 'the wealth of trained men among the people and of the material promised by the Boy Scouts and Cadets'.¹⁵⁹ This 'promise' came to fruition on the outbreak of war when scouts in Chelsea having returned early from camp 'were hard at work acting as orderlies to the Brigade staff at the Duke of York's Headquarters'.¹⁶⁰ In a further instance of a BPBS response to the events of August, the parish of St Paul

¹⁵⁵ *The Patriot*, Mar 1909.

¹⁵⁶ *The Patriot*, Jul 1908.

¹⁵⁷ *Annual Register*, Nov 1909, p. 36.

¹⁵⁸ *Annual Register*, Nov 1910, p. 224; *The Times*, 25 Mar 1911, p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ *Annual Register*, Jun 1912, p. 133: R. B. S. Haldane, later Viscount Haldane was Secretary of State for War between 1905 and 1912 and was the instigator of the army's 'Haldane Reforms'.

¹⁶⁰ LMA, P74/SAV/103, St Saviour, Walton St Chelsea, Parish Magazines Jan 1912-Nov 1918 (Sep 1914).

Lissom Grove reported that the 'senior lads in the troop assisted the 1st and 6th Marylebone troops in guarding the Water Works at Primrose Hill'.¹⁶¹ Both of these examples are consistent with Summers' contention that the scouts responded in an 'uncritical and even enthusiastic manner to the outbreak of war'.¹⁶²

There were therefore many elements and instances of an inter-relationship between the brigades and troops and the military establishment. In assessing the militarism of the various organisations, the crux of the debate is whether those elements and instances that were militaristic in outlook were ends in themselves or were a means to another end, which could be educational, social or religious. Was the intention to create citizens or soldiers? Or in pre-1914 England did the plurality of the organisations make it difficult to differentiate between the two? All the organisations emphasised that whilst there might be militaristic elements to them there were also social and in the case of those with church affiliations religious objectives. This down-playing of the military element was not unexpected in a country where as has been discussed the support for conscription was at best restricted. As proven by the Lads' Drill Association, to have marketed an organisation whose sole aim was military would have been an uphill struggle.¹⁶³ The organisations' own publications highlighted the religious and the social objectives and these were reiterated at regular intervals. The objectives of the BB were described as 'the advancement of Christ's kingdom among boys [...] and all that tends towards a true

¹⁶¹ LMA, P89/PAU2/24, St Paul Lissom Grove, Parish Notes Jan 1914-Dec 1915 (Sep 1914).

¹⁶² Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADS', p. 947.

¹⁶³ The Lads' Drill Association was formed in 1899 with aims 'to encourage the teaching of physical and military drill' *The Times* 26 Jun 1899, p. 8; it never 'recruited more than a few thousand volunteers' Searle, *A New England?*, p. 40.

Christian manliness'.¹⁶⁴ The CLB 'imparts a wholesome kind of discipline [...] in true harmony with Church feeling'.¹⁶⁵ The LDCLB had been started to unite the boys of the diocese 'in attachment to God and His Church and to promote among them habits of reverence, obedience, self-control and all that tended towards Christian manliness'.¹⁶⁶ This sentiment was repeated in 1898 at the Guildhall meeting of the LDCLB when the Lord Mayor in his address stated that 'it was no part of the duties of those who had brought them into the Brigade to make soldiers of them'.¹⁶⁷ The BPBS intention was 'to inculcate good citizenship in the future men of the nation' by utilising a system used to train young soldiers but which had had 'the military element eliminated'.¹⁶⁸ This stance was re-iterated in the January 1912 when it was stated that 'it is not our policy to teach boys soldiering'.¹⁶⁹ However despite these protestations, the public's perception was in part shaped by the military trappings and associations of the brigades and troops over the years preceding 1914. This acknowledged association was conveyed in a report made by a 'friend of the vicar' on the LDCLB camp held at the end of July 1914 when he described it as 'the wonderful combination of military and church discipline [...] St Paul's vision of the Christian as a soldier'.¹⁷⁰

In order to give further insight into the 'militarism' of the various organisations, their differing reaction to one particular issue, might illuminate their inherent stance on militarism and how they viewed themselves on this matter. Through the Provisional

¹⁶⁴ *The Times*, 10 May 1897, p. 8: report on the annual demonstration with the quote from the Commander-in-Chief who also said that 'though he was Inspector-General of Recruiting [in the Army] he did not come there as a recruiting officer'.

¹⁶⁵ CLCGB, Box 10, *The Brigade*, Vol. 2 p. 82: quoting the Bishop of Bath and Wells July 1895.

¹⁶⁶ *The Times*, 15 Feb 1896, p. 11: address by the Bishop of Stepney.

¹⁶⁷ *Church Times*, 18 Feb 1898, p. 171.

¹⁶⁸ *The Times*, 2 Jun 1910, p. 13.

¹⁶⁹ *The Boy Scouts – Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee Jan 1912*.

¹⁷⁰ LMA, P90/JNB/78, St John Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1914 (Sep).

Regulations for Cadet Corps dated 21 May 1910 the War Office had empowered the County Associations of the Territorial Force to recognise Cadet Units within certain guidelines. The benefits of recognition included the use of Government Rifle Ranges and Drill Halls, and the ability to purchase obsolete arms, but recognition could only be granted if the Cadet unit 'is likely to furnish recruits to the Territorial Force [...] and is capable of affording efficient elementary military instruction'.¹⁷¹ In other words, this was a requirement to commit to the military and to provide future recruits. The responses of the organisations give an insight into their willingness to commit and provide.

The BB declined the opportunity. Their executive 'passed unanimously a resolution [...] that companies and battalions of the brigade shall not apply for official recognition as Cadet Units' and this decision was reached because the executive 'regards military drill as a means to an end and not an end itself'.¹⁷² This response would not have been unexpected, as contemporary views on the BB appeared to support and mirror their own on the matter of the organisation's stance on militarism. In 1910 the *Penny Illustrated* referred to certain of the supporters of the BB having a 'prejudice against militarism', and in 1913, a Territorial Force officer in discussing 'A National Cadet Army' stated that he had 'purposely refrained from mentioning' them as they 'have been true to their principles [...] remaining a social organisation'.¹⁷³

The responses of the Church of England youth organisations were totally different. In 1911 the LDCLB announced that it, 'with the sanction of the Bishop of London, its President, has decided to become a recognized unit in accordance with provisions of the

¹⁷¹ *The Times*, 23 May 1910, p. 29.

¹⁷² *The Times*, 18 May 1911, p. 6.

¹⁷³ *Penny Illustrated*, 2 Apr 1910, p. 4; Atkinson, 'A National Cadet Army', p. 795.

Cadet Regulations'.¹⁷⁴ In the same year 'the CLB acquired official links with the Territorial Army [sic]'.¹⁷⁵ These decisions had not been taken without some disquiet. At the May 1911 Bishops' Meeting an agenda item 'The Future of the CLB' was tabled by George Eden, Bishop of Wakefield, who together with Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of York and Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, had issues over the proposed association with the Territorial Force.¹⁷⁶ Their concern seemed to reflect similar misgivings by the CLB Governing Body who considered that a 'closer association of the CLB with the military system of the country would [...] interfere with its primary religious object'.¹⁷⁷ It was also apparent that not all companies within the CLB were in agreement with the final decision to be 'recognised' as at a later meeting the bishops discussed the 'position of those companies of the CLB, especially in the North of England which had declined recognition'.¹⁷⁸ There was continued concern in certain quarters that this association placed too much emphasis upon the military aspect of the CLB which, where possible, was played down. At the Annual Festival Dinner of the CLB in the following year the decision 'by which nearly the whole of the brigade had come under the Territorial Associations' was considered to be 'so important' although 'it did not mean that in any way the brigade imbibed more militarism than before'.¹⁷⁹ This last comment could of course be read to imply that 'militarism' was rife within the organisation prior to the decision being taken. The LDCLB did not appear to have similar elements of concern at

¹⁷⁴ *The Times*, 26 Jul 1911, p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 230.

¹⁷⁶ Despite his concern Gore, Bishop of Birmingham until October 1911, when he took up new duties as Bishop of Oxford had connections with the army as an army chaplain to the 5th & 6th Battalion The Royal Warwickshire Regiment Territorial Force based in Birmingham (*Army List* Jan 1910 (572)). Lang had also been an army chaplain at the turn of the century whilst Bishop of Stepney, see appendix 8.

¹⁷⁷ LPL, BM5, Bishops' Meetings 1907-13, p. 221-2.

¹⁷⁸ LPL, BM5, Bishops' Meetings 1907-13; Agenda Item No. 16, Meeting 24 Oct 1911, p. 250.

¹⁷⁹ *The Times*, 30 May 1913, p. 10; speech by Chairman of the CLB.

their decision and at their 21st Anniversary dinner in 1912 John Primatt Maud, Bishop of Kensington, commented that the LDCLB 'had brought Sandhurst with its magnificent military system' to the boys of London, although he did temper this by emphasising that the LDCLB was 'primarily a spiritual organisation'.¹⁸⁰

This recognition and assimilation within the establishment of the army with its implicit natural progression from CLB and LDCLB to Territorial Force mirrored the aspirations of certain parishes of the diocese of London. These parishes looked to the concept of a structured controlled path, through various organisations, as one way to ensure that the Sunday school attendee, the lads of the parish, were still within the church when they became men. One early example was seen at Christ Church Lancaster Gate. In 1892 at that parish, one of the more prosperous in London, the Lads Club was 'handed over to the Officer Commanding and the Executive of the Paddington Volunteer Cadet Company' and was to be 'entirely under military discipline'; although the proviso that the 'vicar retains his right of veto' was added. In the following year a LDCLB was formed in the parish to take over from the 'defunct Band of Hope', this brigade, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was drilled by an NCO of the Paddington Cadet Corps in the Royal Military Riding School. By 1894 the perceived benefits of a structured approach were outlined in that year's Parochial Report; 'all our boys are now provided for as they grow up; when under 12 years they are in the Band of Hope. From that age they are in the LDCLB and when they are over 14 years, and if tall enough, we can enrol them in the

¹⁸⁰ *The Times*, 19 Nov 1912, p. 13; Maud forms part of the discussion in the next chapter on army chaplains and the diocese of London.

Paddington Volunteer Cadets [...] here they can remain up to 18 or 19'.¹⁸¹ This path to manhood was however short lived with the parish LDCLB ceasing by 1896.

In 1909 St Faith Brentford reiterated this view of a seamless pathway towards manhood, although in terms reflective of the concerns of the time, when the parish magazine in an article about the LDCLB affirmed that:

It is encouraging to know that in these days when there is so much talk of how to teach the young men of the country to defend our island home in case of need; something really practical is being done by the officers and lads of the Lad's Brigade. The Brigade one hopes will form in the majority of cases a stepping stone, first to that great spiritual society, the Church of England's Men's Society in which the young men of the Church will find opportunity to do active service for Christ, their Master; and secondly to the Territorial Army [sic] in which increasingly the able bodied manhood of the country must learn to serve their motherland.¹⁸²

These associations of manhood and military duty, together with the concept of the plurality of service due to Christ and the genderised 'motherland', were major aspects of the discussion in chapter 2 in respect of the influences impacting upon the Church of England in the pre-war years. Some parishes, whilst acknowledging the benefits, envisaged a less militarised structure to the path. At the turn of the century the parish of St Paul Canonbury, upon forming a local company of the BB, commented that 'we look to this to supply the much needed link between the Sunday schools and confirmation'.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ LMA, P87/CTC/52-54, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parochial Report and Parish Magazines 1892-94: the Band of Hope appears to have been reformed by 1894.

¹⁸² LMA, DRO76/54, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1909 (Sep).

¹⁸³ LMA, P83/PAU/66, St Paul Canonbury, Annual Reports 1899-1905 (1899-1900).

In 1906 at Christ Church West Green Tottenham the parish looked to the local LDCLB 'to form the link so frequently broken between Sunday school and church, youth and manhood'.¹⁸⁴

There is no record of the response of the LDBS to the question of 'recognition'. It has to be assumed that any 'scout troops' affiliated to the LDCLB would fall under that organisation's decision to respond positively. The BPBS did not apply for recognition. This response was not unexpected bearing in mind the emphasis given by many within the movement to the sense that they were not a military organisation. This position continued to be re-stated in the pre-war years, not least by Baden-Powell himself, who in a letter to *The Times* responding to a concern expressed by certain parents 'who were suspicious of the Scout movement' and its association with the military, re-affirmed that 'our aim is on a far higher plane than that of trying to make soldiers of the boys; we want to make good, useful prosperous citizens of them'.¹⁸⁵ This statement placed the soldier below the citizen in importance and was a rebuttal to a militarised society. At a later date Baden-Powell re-emphasised that 'we particularly avoid a military training'.¹⁸⁶ The different response of the two Church of England youth organisations to that of other brigades and scouts on this particular issue did set the LDCLB and the CLB apart from the other youth organisations and allied them more emphatically within the military sphere in the immediate pre-war years. However, the constant requirement for the BPBS to reiterate its non-military associations, in itself highlighted that the message was being nullified in many instances by their actions and associations.

¹⁸⁴ LMA, DRO30/E1/17, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1906 (Jun).

¹⁸⁵ *The Times*, 8 May 1913, p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ Atkinson, 'A National Cadet Army', p. 787 the quote is from Baden-Powell's comments at the meeting.

This chapter has assessed the military culture and aspects of militarism displayed by the varying youth organisations in general. In the next chapter an analysis of individual parish responses, within the diocese of London, to the brigade and troop movements will be made to ascertain the level of support for these organisations both from the clergy and the parish laity. The clergy's response will also be assessed not only from the local parish's stance but also from the hierarchy within the diocese, and will also incorporate other aspects of the relationship between the diocese and the local military; an example of this is the role and utilisation of the army chaplains within the diocese.

CHAPTER 6

The Diocese and the Parishes: Not a Uniformed Response.

In chapter 2 the various theological, social, gender and political themes that were at play in the pre-war years, and had a potential to influence the Church of England in its relationship with those elements of society that were associated with the military culture, were discussed. Following on from this, the nature and challenges of the changing urban environment and the church's responses to these were discussed. The traditional links between the various hierarchies, including the church, were then highlighted and the role of the clergy within these analysed. In the last chapter the development of the various youth organisations was assessed, with particular reference being made to their response and acceptance of a military culture. In this chapter the responses within the diocese of London, both at an episcopal level and at a local parish level, of both clergy and laity will be assessed to analyse the extent of support for those elements of pre-war society in which militarism was apparent. This assessment will include the range of youth associations in existence, but in particular those specific to the diocese: the LDCLB and the LDBS. The BPBS will also be discussed, not only in view of its membership levels both within the nation generally and the diocese specifically, but also because of its constant need in the immediate pre-war years to re-affirm its non-military aspects. The

utilisation of the role of the army chaplain within the diocese will be discussed to ascertain to what degree it was seen as a ready conduit of influence and mutual benefit between the military and the church, and by inference the parishioners.

In chapter 5 an overview of total membership numbers was undertaken in respect of the various youth organisations. This chapter will develop this discussion by analysing individual parish association with the LDCLB, the LDBS and the BPBS. Appendix 4 lists all the diocesan parishes where there is archival material that indicates that a parish had an involvement, for any period of time in the years up to 1914, with either the LDCLB the LDBS or with a parish affiliated BPBS. The number of parishes with a specifically affiliated BB was small, as discussed in the last chapter, and as such the BB have not been included in the appendix. In addition, appendix 5 gives details of membership numbers, for specific parishes and years, in respect of the LDCLB. Similar information is not readily available for the two scout organisations, primarily due to the short period during which they existed prior to 1914. The number of parishes, which at any time prior to August 1914 had an LDCLB company, should indicate the popularity and support the organisation had across the diocese and the period. In addition an analysis of the geographic spread and number fluctuations will give indications as to cross-demographic support and any influences that impacted upon the clerical and lay attitude towards the LDCLB between 1892 and 1914.

Appendix 4 indicates that in the diocese during the years prior to the outbreak of war in 1914 there were less than 270 parishes, that for some period, had involvement with the LDCLB. The number of parishes within the diocese was in excess of 560 at the date of the 1901 re-organisation and by 1914 this number had increased to just under 600.

Therefore at no time was the number of parishes that had LDCLB companies in excess of fifty percent. At any one time the percentage was actually substantially less than that, if it is borne in mind, that not all the parishes had LDCLB companies at the same time. In fact, as shown below, in figures already discussed in the previous chapter, the maximum number of parishes with companies never exceeded 200:¹

Dates	Number of Companies	Number of Members
1892	30	500
1894	60	1800
1896	80	2500
1897	105	3500
1900	119	5000
1905	150	6000
1910	185	8000
1912	175	7500

Using the above figures, in 1900 the number of parishes with a LDCLB company was 119 compared with a total number of parishes in the region of 560; a take up of less than twenty five percent. By the eve of the war this percentage had increased to slightly less than thirty. By 1914 a further 47 parishes who had no prior involvement with the LDCLB had established scout troops, either with the LDBS or the BPBS. Hence by then the number of parishes that had been involved with either a parish LDCLB, LDBS or BPBS was slightly in excess of 220; out of a total number of parishes that was in the region of 600; this equated at best to a percentage that was still less than forty.

The growth of the LDCLB was discussed in general in the last chapter and now a more detailed assessment will be made. Prior to the turn of the century the growth in parishes with LDCLB companies seemed steady, apart from the five month period

¹ LPL, London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men First Annual Report 1892; *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jun 1894; *The Times*, 12 Oct 1896, p. 4, 19 Feb 1897, p. 8; The LDCLB Handbook 1900; *The Times*, 24 Aug 190, p. 6, 11 Oct 1910 p. 7; R&H Pre 1914 Leaflet of the LDCLB.

between October 1896 and February 1897 when there was a substantial increase in the number of companies. This increase as the following table shows was more than that seen either, historically in the previous two years, or in the following two years:²

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Jan		1		1	1	1	7	2	3
Feb			1	1	2	1	3	3	
Mar		1			1	1		2	
Apr			1		1			1	
May							2	1	1
Jun		1				1	1		1
Jul							1		
Aug									
Sep			1				1		1
Oct		3	5	2	1	6	4		8
Nov	2	1	1		2	3	4	5	3
Dec	1				3	4		3	5

It is noticeable that throughout the nine years no companies were formed in the month of August, probably due to the holidays of the clergy and the more influential members of the laity of the parish. Whilst there was also an increase in the last quarter of 1899 this was probably linked to the outbreak of the Boer War in October of that year. However the increase in late 1896 and early 1897 may have been due to an initiative that linked into the concerns expressed, and discussed in the previous chapter, concerning the BB which unlike the LDCLB was not affiliated to the Church of England.

In 1892 the parish of All Saints South Acton had a BB company that was making 'rapid progress' and in 1895 it was reported that the company had 'increased in numbers'.³ However in November 1896 the parish magazine reported that the BB was

² The information is from the 1900 LDCLB Handbook which shows month/year of registration of the company. However it should be borne in mind that these figures only reflect those parishes which still had an LDCLB as at 1900. Any that had had a company during the 1890s, that was no longer in existence, would not be included and this explains in part the weighting of the Table towards the latter years of the 1890s.

³ LMA, DRO/056/033-034, All Saints South Acton, Parish Magazines 1892-94 (Feb 1892) & DRO56/027, All Saints South Acton, Annual Reports 1893-1908 (1895).

'now affiliated to the LDCLB in accordance with a wish expressed by the Bishop', a comment reiterated in the 1896.⁴ This was further confirmed in January 1897 when the parish reported that 'our Company of the Boys' Brigade has connected itself with the diocesan organisation and will henceforth be called the LDCLB'.⁵ The implication of this is that the bishop (it is not immediately apparent which bishop this was) had instructed All Saints to change from the BB to the LDCLB in order to 'strengthen the movement in the Diocese'.⁶ I can trace no other archival records concerning this episcopal 'wish' either in respect of the archives of the bishops or from another parish.⁷ Whilst there is the possibility that this request was made specifically to All Saints, the general increase in numbers over that period, as already discussed, would imply a request across the diocese. In addition Ealing deanery, of which Acton was part, had always been a major supporter of the LDCLB. Of the 30 parishes with LDCLB Companies in 1892, five were in Ealing deanery, by 1900 this number had increased to seven and by 1912 there were twelve – these were all substantial numbers when compared with other deaneries. Therefore the likelihood of the need for episcopal exhortations towards the LDCLB, specifically in Ealing deanery over this period, was slight.

As is apparent from appendix 4 many parishes had LDCLB companies for only short periods. In certain cases the company would reappear in later years but in others it would

⁴ LMA, DRO/56/035-036, All Saints South Acton Parish Magazines, 1895-98 (Nov 1896); DRO/56/027 Annual Reports 1893-1908 (1896): The 1900 Handbook shows the registration date as 14 Oct 1899 but this has been amended by hand to 1897. However it is more than likely that this is also incorrect as the registration date shown for the captain of the company, a member of the laity living in Bedford Park, is shown as 14 Oct 1896. This would comply with the dates in the Parish Magazines and Annual Reports.

⁵ LMA, DRO/56/035-036, All Saints South Acton Parish Magazines, 1895-98 (Jan 1897).

⁶ LMA, DRO56/027, All Saints South Acton, Annual Reports 1893-1908 (1896).

⁷ The last quarter of 1896 was the time when Frederick Temple the Bishop of London was translated to his new duties as the Archbishop of Canterbury and his replacement, Mandell Creighton did not officially take up his position as Bishop of London until January 1897. The only suffragan bishop in existence over that period in the diocese was George Browne at Stepney and that position had specific responsibilities for the East End and as such it is unlikely that he would have been involved with a parish in South Acton.

not. The above mentioned Ealing deanery was an excellent example of the fluidity apparent across the period. Of the five parishes listed in 1892, three, St Alban Acton Green, St Mary Ealing and St John Ealing Dean, had no LDCLB listed in the 1900 Handbook. Two of these three however had later LDCLB companies; St John Ealing Dean was included in the 1912 County of Middlesex Cadet Sub-Committee Report and St Alban Acton Green reported in 1911 that there were '31 applicants for the *new* St Alban's' LDCLB.⁸ In the case of St Mary Ealing there is no further archival evidence of LDCLB involvement in the parish after 1892. Other examples of companies ceasing were apparent, across the diocese and throughout the period. St Columba Haggerston announced in 1905 that 'the old company' of the LDCLB 'is to be revived'.⁹ The original company must have been prior to 1900 as there was no archival record of a company at St Columba either in the 1900 Handbook or in the parish magazines from the turn of the century through to 1905. St James Norland in Kensington deanery was included in the 1892 Report but ceased at some date after that as its registration date in the 1900 Handbook was 1898. In 1901 the parish of St Matthew Ponders End in Enfield deanery reported that the LDCLB that had 'been in a dormant condition for sometime', was to be revived.¹⁰ One of the reasons, together with others to be discussed later in this chapter, why companies ceased was lack of 'lads', a failure to attract sufficient numbers to join the LDCLB.

Appendix 5 tabulates those parishes and years where 'actual' parish LDCLB membership numbers were given. The major two sources for these were from 1903 and

⁸ LMA, DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton Green, Parish Magazines 1910-1915 (Jan 1911); the emphasis was not in the original; this parish LDCLB was also included in the 1912 Middlesex Report.

⁹ LMA, P91/COL/122-124, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1891-06 (Jul 1905).

¹⁰ LMA, DRO/064/125, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1899-1902 (Sep 1901); previously the last mention of the LDCLB had been in February 1897, (DRO/064/124, Parish Magazines 1895-98).

1912 and whilst there were substantial differences in membership levels, the norm across the diocese and period was between 30 and 40 lads per company.¹¹ The narrative behind the numbers highlighted the fluctuations in membership levels and, in certain instances, the low level of membership faced by the individual parishes. The parish of St Stephen Shepherds Bush Hammersmith started an LDCLB company in March 1894. In the following month the parish magazine reported that 'we want several more members to complete our number', however by December that year they had 'close upon 70 on the register'.¹² This membership level was not maintained as more than a decade later in 1906 they were 'still in need [...] of recruits' and in 1909 numbers were described as 'pitifully small'.¹³ At the parish of St Faith Brentford in 1908 it was commented, in respect of the LDCLB, that 'what a pity it is that more lads will not take the trouble to become efficient' and three years later in 1911 there appeared to have been little improvement as the 'numbers of our company are so slow in increasing' and in 1912 there continued to be a 'serious lack of numbers'.¹⁴ In 1909 the parish of St Michael Cricklewood was 'anxious to see the numbers of the company increase'; whilst earlier in the decade that of St Thomas Stamford Hill reported that 'our numbers are small'.¹⁵

Fluctuating membership levels were also apparent at St Saviour Hampstead. In 1904 the

¹¹ The 1903 numbers are from The Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys and Girls of London, First Annual Report 1903 (LMA, ACC/1926/C/121), an incomplete return from the individual parishes from within the County of London on all clubs for boys and girls functioning in the parish – the accuracy of certain elements of this are questionable (Kensington Rural Deanery for instance had completed no returns) but the overall figures where given are in line with those seen in other archive records. The 1912 numbers are from The Territorial Force Association of the County of Middlesex, First Annual Report of the Sub-Committee on the Progress of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation (CLCGB) this is signed off by Colonel Hennell, Chairman of the Cadet Sub-Committee, it is a detailed printed document which has all the hallmarks of army accuracy.

¹² LMA, P80/STE/188, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1894 (Mar, Apr & Dec).

¹³ LMA, P80/STE/199-200, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1905-11 (Sep 1906 & Feb 1909).

¹⁴ LMA, DRO76/53-57, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1908-12 (Jun 1908, Jul 1911 & Feb 1912).

¹⁵ LMA, DRO/095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines 1907-12 (Apr 1909); P79/TMS/19, St Thomas Stamford Hill, Parish Magazines 1901-09 (Jun 1902).

LDCLB was 'smaller in number than in some former years' but this was probably just a temporary lapse as in the following year it was reported that the LDCLB 'continues to flourish' and in 1909 it had enjoyed 'very flourishing conditions both as regards numbers and efficiency'.¹⁶ In 1902, at St Luke West Holloway, the LDCLB was reported as 'progressing very favourably' but by 1906 was in need 'of fresh arrangement and support', whilst at St John Kentish Town in 1911 it was remarked that 'all it wants now is more recruits' but by the following year the comment was that 'of late, gone up well in numbers'.¹⁷ In certain instances the fluctuations and low membership levels proved 'terminal'. In 1902 St John Upper Holloway reported that LDCLB 'numbers have grown' but two years later the parish regretted 'to say that the LDCLB has not prospered and will be discontinued'.¹⁸

The events at St John Upper Holloway also gave an insight into the apparent lack of a relationship between a thriving parish and a successful well supported LDCLB, for despite the failure of the LDCLB, communicant numbers at the parish increased year on year during that period:¹⁹

Year	Communicants E-E	Easter
1901	2654	278
1902	2903	386
1903	3302	437
1904	3347	509
1905	4153	503

¹⁶ LMA, P81/SAV/135-136, St Saviour Hampstead, Year Books 1896-15 (1904, 1906 & 1909).

¹⁷ LMA, P83/LUK/76-77,,St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1901-09 (Sep 1902 & Mar 1906); the 1902 report also included the number of members as 56 (see appendix 5); P90/JND/75-76, St John Kentish Town, Parish Magazines & Annual Reports 1911-12 (AR 1911 & May 1912).

¹⁸ LMA, P83/JNE/411, St John Upper Holloway, Annual Reports 1898-1908 (1902 & 1904).

¹⁹ LMA, P83/JNE/411, St John Upper Holloway, Annual Reports 1898-1908; Population levels were reasonably constant between 1901 and 1911 at around 12000; a new vicar the Rev Herbert Dudley Lampen had been appointed in 1901.

A similar pattern was apparent at the Paddington deanery parish of Christ Church Lancaster Gate, the provider of the monies under the Poor Parishes Aid Fund. In 1893 the parish started an LDCLB company which 'took over from the defunct Band of Hope', the last mention of the LDCLB in the parish records was in 1894, when membership was 35; during this same period communicant levels ranged from 20,435 in 1893 to 19,300 in 1896.²⁰ The actual last date for the LDCLB is unknown but the lack of mention in the parochial reports implied its demise and it was not listed in the 1900 Handbook. Another parish from the West End was St Luke South Kensington which had a substantial increase in Easter communicant levels across the period but for which neither the archival sources of 1905 nor 1911 have any evidence of LDCLB, or in the case of the latter year, 'scout' involvement.²¹

Year	Easter Communicants St Luke
1895	303
1900	444
1905	417
1910	418
1914	701

This lack of an inter-relationship between the success or growth of the parish and that of the local LDCLB, or in the latter years, the LDBS was even more apparent where the parish appeared static or in decline, but there was a LDCLB company or 'scout' troop. St Thomas Arbour Square in Stepney deanery saw its Easter communicant levels fall throughout the period but, despite this, registered an LDCLB company in 1899 and an

²⁰ LMA, P87/CTC/52-57, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parochial Reports 1892-97.

²¹ LMA, P84/LUK/13-14, St Luke South Kensington, Register of Services 1894-1923, & P84/LUK/103 & 108, St Luke South Kensington, Parish Magazines 1905 & 1911.

LDBS troop in 1912. The longevity of the LDCLB is not known, through lack of archival evidence, but the LDBS was still in existence in 1917:²²

Year	Easter Communicants St Thomas
1893	203
1900	141
1905	128
1910	133
1914	93

In May 1914 the vicar at St Michael Paddington lamented about ‘an oasis of the faithful amid a wilderness of empty seats’, but two months later announced that ‘a troop of Boy Scouts has been started and by August the parish had ‘two senior patrols and one junior’.²³ One even more extreme example was the parish of St Mary le Strand in Westminster deanery which had a parish population of substantially less than 1000 both in 1901 and 1911. In addition Mudie-Smith’s attendance figures for the parish, in respect of men women and children, around the turn of the century totalled 124, between both the morning and evening services. Despite these figures an LDBS was registered at St Mary le Strand in 1910 and was still in existence in 1914.

It is tempting to see evidence of a social divide between these parishes; those where the LDCLB failed being from the wealthier areas of the diocese: Christ Church Lancaster Gate and St Luke South Kensington being examples of that.²⁴ Conversely, despite small congregations, the poorer parishes, as for instance St Thomas Arbour Square Stepney,

²² LMA, P93/TMS/48-54, St Thomas Arbour Square Stepney, Register of Preachers 1892-1914; the date of the LDCLB is taken from the 1900 Handbook whilst that for the LDBS from the 1917 Troop List.

²³ LMA, P87/MAA/38, St Michael and All Angels Paddington, Parish Magazines 1914 (May, Jul & Aug): the senior scout patrols were for lads aged over 13 whilst the juniors were aged between 11 and 13.

²⁴ Although demographic changes were by 1911 impacting upon St Luke (GMS, 17886, 20-23).

retained an LDCLB presence. However St John Upper Holloway in Islington deanery did not adhere to this divide. It was not a wealthy parish and a year after the LDCLB at the parish ceased the vicar reported in the 1905 Visitation Return that the parish was subject to a 'constant change of parishioners'.²⁵ This change did not bring prosperity and by 1911 because the new population were not as wealthy as their predecessors the parish reported that 'the strictest economy has been necessary'.²⁶

The inference from these examples is that the drive behind any parish involvement with the LDCLB, and later the LDBS was not reliant on its class and economic components nor on an overall active, vibrant and growing parish congregation, but upon a few individuals. The vicar at Holy Trinity Brompton highlighted this dependence upon the effort of individuals when he acknowledged in 1897 that the LDCLB had been 'established by the kind exertions of one of my colleagues'.²⁷ This in itself raised two distinct problems; one of finding enough individuals to organise and lead the brigades and troops and the other was to obtain sufficient support, including financial, from among the clergy and laity of the parish.

The First Annual Report of the LDCLB in 1892 highlighted the problem of finding individuals to run the organisations, a problem that was to be a constant over the years, when it stated that 'many other Companies would have been formed but for local reasons such as [...] the difficulty of finding a captain'.²⁸ In order to overcome this, fifteen of the thirty companies registered in 1892 had clergy as captains; a figure that implied unsuitable or unwilling local parish laity. Of the other fifteen companies, four of the

²⁵ GMS, 17885, viii-22.

²⁶ LMA, P83/JNE/413, St John Upper Holloway, Annual Reports 1906-12 (1911).

²⁷ LMA, P84/TRI2/150, Holy Trinity Brompton, Annual Report 1897.

²⁸ LPL, London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men, First Annual Report LDCLB 1892.

captains had their military association noted against their names.²⁹ This high ratio of clergy did not continue. By 1900 the LDCLB Handbook showed that out of the 119 companies only 28 had clergy as captains, and by 1912 of the 67 companies that formed part of the County of Middlesex Territorial Cadet Authority only four officers were clergy. In the latter case the reduction in clergy involvement at officer level probably reflected the more 'professional military' outlook of the cadet movement in general at that time. It is interesting, that as discussed in the previous chapter, around the same period the number of clergy of all denominations issued with scoutmaster and assistant scoutmaster warrants across the country by the BPBS, showed a decline in absolute numbers, even as the popularity of the movement increased.

The difficulty of finding officers highlighted in the 1892 Report continued within the diocese. In 1899 the deanery of Hackney reported that in respect of the LDCLB 'lads were waiting but companies could not be formed for lack of officers'.³⁰ A year later the LDCLB at All Saints South Acton was 'in abeyance' due to 'the serious illness of the captain' the inference being that there was no ready replacement, which may in part have been due to the 'unsatisfactory conduct of many of its members'.³¹ In 1901 the LDCLB at St Matthew Ponders End Enfield was revived 'in response to a request of the boys themselves', it having been in 'a dormant condition for sometime past principally for want of a leader'.³² However the following year the problem appeared to have resurfaced, as the parish had twice to announce that the brigade was 'in great need of a Lieutenant'.³³ In 1902 St John South Hackney welcomed a new officer 'of which we were badly in

²⁹ Major A. H. G. Anton, Captain D. J. Hamilton, R. M. Blunt (Guards) & H. G. Sutton (Coldstream).

³⁰ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jan 1899.

³¹ LMA, DRO56/027, All Saints South Acton, Annual Reports 1893-1908 (1900).

³² LMA, DRO/064/125, St Matthew Enfield, Parish Magazines 1899-1902 (Sep 1901).

³³ LMA, DRO/064/125, St Matthew Enfield, Parish Magazines 1899-1902 (Apr & Jul 1902).

need', the inference being that the parish had had difficulty in finding a candidate.³⁴ In the same year St James Friern Barnet stated that 'two more officers are greatly needed' by the brigade.³⁵ In 1906 St Stephen Shepherds Bush Hammersmith was 'greatly in need of some one to come forward to take up the work of an officer in the Company', a request that fell on deaf ears as three months later the parish was 'still in need of officers'.³⁶ In 1908 a similar problem faced St Alban Fulham where 'the Company is still in need of another Lieutenant'.³⁷ In 1912 the parish of St John Kentish Town declared that the greatest need of the LDCLB was 'a suitable volunteer from amongst our male communicants to become an officer'.³⁸ In the same year the parish of St Stephen Hampstead reported that the 'Company was passing through times of difficulty and anxiety [...] near to a state of collapse at the beginning of the summer' and this led to a 'serious reproach to the men of the congregation that not one was willing to come forward to help'.³⁹ In 1914 a month before the outbreak of war it was reported, by the parish of St Peter Kensington, that the LDCLB had a 'shortage of officers'.⁴⁰ The problem was not restricted to the LDCLB but was also apparent in the scouts. The parish of St Mary Acton, which had introduced an LDBS troop in 1909, reported that the scoutmaster 'would be glad to hear of some young fellows who would be willing to work under him as patrol leaders' and that 'an assistant scoutmaster is badly needed'.⁴¹ At St Saviour Hoxton the parish had 'for a long time [...] wanted a troop but there was no one

³⁴ LMA, P79/JNJ/407, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1902 (Nov).

³⁵ LMA, DRO/12/1/K1/4, St James Friern Barnet, Parish Magazines 1894-1902 (Dec 1902).

³⁶ LMA, P80/STE/199, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Jun & Sep 1906).

³⁷ LMA, P77/ALB/068-069, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1908-09 (Nov 1908).

³⁸ LMA, P90/JNB/76, St John Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1912 (Apr).

³⁹ R&H, Report 8th Season 1912-13, St Stephen Hampstead LDCLB.

⁴⁰ LMA, P84/PET1/129, St Peter Kensington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Aug).

⁴¹ LMA, DRO52/176 & 268, St Mary Acton, Annual Report 1910 & Parish Magazines 1910 (Mar).

to act as scoutmaster' and, when in 1911 they were able to rectify the situation, the parish magazine declared 'the scouts at last!'⁴²

Information about actual officer numbers per parish and the ratio of officers to lads was sparse, with the main resource in this respect being the 1912 Report. These figures are shown in appendix 6.⁴³ Whilst there was a range in officer numbers between parishes, the overall ratio was in the region of one officer for every 15 lads. The only other reference to specific officer numbers was in 1894 when details of certain parishes in the Enfield Battalion were shown in the parish magazines of St Matthew Ponders End Enfield. The ratios are in line with those seen nearly twenty years later.⁴⁴ This ratio of 1:15 would appear to be an acceptable one bearing in mind the control and training element within the LDCLB companies. The 1912 figures relate to those Middlesex parish companies that were under the ultimate control of the War Office and as such 'officers' should have been available from within the Territorial Force. This may explain the low number of clergy listed, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

In certain instances the difficulty in finding an officer was increased by the requirement that they should be a communicant or member of the congregation, or, as in the case of Christ Church West Green Tottenham, the proviso for 'some previous experience in volunteering.'⁴⁵ A similar requirement was made in the summer of 1914 when St Matthew Upper Clapton asked whether there was 'any young man with a knowledge of military drill who will come forward as an officer' for the parish LDCLB.⁴⁶

⁴² LMA, P91/SAV/72, St Saviour Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1899-1914 (Oct 1911).

⁴³ CLCGB, The Territorial Force Association of the County of Middlesex, First Annual Report of the Sub-Committee on the Progress of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation.

⁴⁴ LMA, DRO64/123, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-94 (May 1894): St Matthew had 4 officers and 47 lads, All Saints Edmonton 3/38 and St James Edmonton 3/37.

⁴⁵ LMA, DRO30/E1/10, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1899 (Dec).

⁴⁶ LMA, P79/MTW/48, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jul).

In 1910 at St James Enfield the requirements in respect of the parish BPBS were even more specific; as discussed in the previous chapter the scoutmaster had where possible to be a priest and the assistant scoutmasters communicants.⁴⁷

There was also the consideration to be made as to the suitability of any applicant for the position. In this latter respect the 1900 Handbook included the addresses of the captains and these indicated that in the more socially deprived areas of the diocese the captain, in many instances, lived outside the parish/deanery border. Similar circumstances were not repeated in the wealthier parts of the diocese. In the east of the diocese Poplar deanery had LDCLB companies at seven parishes in 1900. Only one of these had a clergyman as captain, all the other six captains were members of the laity and five of these lived outside the deanery in Essex or Greenwich.⁴⁸ The 1900 Handbook also showed that the neighbouring deanery of Stepney had five parishes with LDCLB companies; of these two had clergy as captains.⁴⁹ No name is shown against the company at St Mary Whitechapel, whilst the remaining two captains lived outside the deanery boundaries, one in Stratford and one in Dalston. An exception to the norm in the poor East End deaneries was Bethnal Green, where there were five parishes with LDCLB companies listed in the Handbook. Of these, three had local clergy as captains, and of the other two, one lived within the deanery and the other in Hackney.⁵⁰ The higher than normal number of clergy involved with the LDCLB in Bethnal Green might reflect the concern the church had in general for the social and economic conditions prevalent there.

⁴⁷ LMA, DRO54/102, St James Enfield, Constitution of the 1st Enfield (St James's) Troop of the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts dated 13 Dec 1910.

⁴⁸ Rev Hubert Godfrey Houseman, curate at St Leonard Bromley.

⁴⁹ Rev C. H. Chard, curate at All Saints Mile End and Rev J. Riley, curate at St Thomas Arbour Square: it has not been possible to identify these particular clergymen in *Crockfords*.

⁵⁰ Rev James Albert Burnley, curate at St Matthias, Rev George Henry Bournes, curate at St Philip and Rev. Maurice Berkeley Peel, curate at St Simon.

It could also reflect the influence of Oxford House and similar institutions in the locality, or a heightened lack of confidence in the local parishioners' abilities in this respect.

Excluding the East End the norm in the remainder of the diocese was for the captains to live within the deanery. This was apparent both in the growing suburbs, as for example in Ealing deanery where there were seven parishes listed in the 1900 Handbook; all of which had laity as captains who lived within the deanery. The more established Hampstead deanery had eight LDCLB parishes, two of which had local clergy as captains, whilst the remaining six had laity all of whom had local addresses.⁵¹

Demographic changes however impacted upon certain deaneries, St Pancras being an example. In 1900 all eight parishes with LDCLB had captains who were laity with local addresses but by 1905 St Andrew Haverstock Hill, one of those eight highlighted 'the want of leisured and educated laymen capable of assisting' as a specific problem within the parish.⁵²

This disparity in officer recruitment was highlighted by Kensington deanery. At the turn of the century the deanery had a well-defined socio-economic split, and also LDCLB companies at seven parishes that reflected the range of social conditions. The deanery covered a large geographical area with Chelsea and the Fulham Road forming its southern border, Hammersmith and Fulham to the west, Wormwood Scrubs and Kensal Green to the north and Paddington to the east. Population levels were reasonably stable over the period, at a figure in the region of one-hundred and seventy-five thousand. The

⁵¹ Rev George Cherry Weaver, curate at St Mary Kilburn and Rev. Alured George Clarke, curate at Emmanuel Hampstead.

⁵² GMS 17885 xxiii-6 – this was a general comment about the running of the parish and not just about LCDLB officers, but it does indicate the social changes apparent to the clergy,

deanery was split on the east/west axis by Uxbridge Road⁵³ and Notting Hill Gate and to the south of these was Kensington, whilst to the north, Norland and Notting Hill. By the turn of the century the 'word Kensington has come to be almost a synonym for wealth [...] possessing a larger proportion of persons of independent means than any other borough in the kingdom' whereas in the Norland area there was 'no greater antithesis to the wealth and refinement that are usually associated with West London'.⁵⁴ The poverty of the parishes in the north of the deanery was well documented. In 1893 St Andrew Upper Westbourne reported that 'we have an immense population of the poorest classes to deal with and the distress this winter has been extraordinarily great' and at the 1901 Census the parish was described as having a 'large number of poor'.⁵⁵ Similar comments were made from the census figures about St Michael Notting Hill, which contained '9800 people of these 6000 are poor' and by the end of the decade St Clement Notting Hill was described as 'perhaps the poorest parish in London'.⁵⁶ Two of these parishes, St Andrew and St Clement, also received monies from the Poor Parishes Aid Fund administered by Christ Church Lancaster Gate.⁵⁷ Compared to these northern parishes, the parish of St Mary Boltons West Brompton situated in the south of the deanery, was able to state in 1902 that 'help is given to eleven poor parishes'.⁵⁸ Of the seven parishes with LDCLB companies listed in the 1900 Handbook, three were in the northern section of the deanery.

⁵³ Now re-named Holland Park Avenue.

⁵⁴ Arthur Sherwell 'The Problem of West London' in Mudie-Smith *The Religious Life of London*, pp. 69-95 (pp. 79-80). This disparity however was subject to demographic change and by 1911 St Luke South Kensington in its Completed Articles of Enquiry commented that 'well to do people vacate houses which if let are all sub-let in tenements' GMS 17886 20-23.

⁵⁵ LPL, St Andrew Upper Westbourne, Annual Report 1893; *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1903.

⁵⁶ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jul 1903 & Jan 1909: St Michael Notting Hill is actually referred to as St Michael North Kensington.

⁵⁷ LMA, P87/CTC/52 & 56, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parochial Record and Parish Magazines 1892 & 1896; St Andrew in 1892 & 1896 (and its 1893 Annual Report also mentions funds being received from this source) and St Clement in 1892.

⁵⁸ *London Diocesan Magazine*, May 1903; no detail was given of the parishes involved nor if aid was restricted to Kensington deanery.

Of these LDCLB, two had clergy as captains and one a layman who lived outside the deanery in Hammersmith.⁵⁹ The remaining four parishes were towards the south, and all the captains of these LDCLB were members of the laity who lived locally. One further example of an officer of the LDCLB living outside the boundaries of a poor parish in the west of London was to be found at the parish of St John Chelsea. The parish of St John was described as the 'poorest parish in Chelsea' in 1891 and as having 'a large number of poor according to the last census' at the turn of the century.⁶⁰ In 1900 the captain of the parish LDCLB company was a member of the laity who lived in Eaton Square, an address socially at the other end of the spectrum.

The other major problem faced by the LDCLB companies was that of finance. This was an issue not only in the poorer parts of the diocese but was also in the wealthier parishes where concern was raised as to costs. Finance remained a factor in many parishes throughout the period. In 1895 the LDCLB of the easterly parish of Holy Trinity Hoxton reported that 'funds are urgently needed' and matters did not improve as by 1898 the LDCLB Balance Sheet showed a deficit of £80.⁶¹ The parish of St Matthew Upper Clapton commented in 1899 that 'company funds are low' whilst a few years later a neighbouring parish, St Thomas Stamford Hill reported that their company was 'in need of some subscriptions to enable us to pay our debts'.⁶² Further north in 1901 St Luke

⁵⁹ Rev George Williamson Brodribb at All Saints Notting Hill and Rev Charles de Rockfort Wall at St James Norland.

⁶⁰ LMA, P74/JN/29, St John Chelsea, Annual Reports 1891-1900 (1891); *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1903.

⁶¹ LMA, P91/TRI/75-76, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1891-1902 (Apr 1895 & Jan 1898): In present day values the £80 is in the region of £4000, a substantial sum for a parish that had three years earlier in 1895 reported that there had been 'during the past week two cases of absolute starvation in Shoreditch' (Mar 1895). As a rule of thumb to obtain present-day value a multiple of 50 per £1 will provide a general figure.

⁶² LMA, P79/MTW/45, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1899-1903 (Apr 1899); P79/TMS/19, St Thomas Stamford Hill, Parish Magazines 1901-09 (Aug 1903).

West Holloway, a parish in Islington deanery, reported on a 'deficiency of funds'.⁶³

However the company continued, and by 1913 the parish also had a troop of the BPBS, and a request for '£5 in order to help run these organisations for this season' was made in the parish magazine.⁶⁴ Towards the west the parish of St John Kentish Town in St Pancras deanery commented in 1912 that the LDCLB 'is in need of funds'.⁶⁵ In the poorer northern area of Kensington deanery, the parish of St Mark Notting Hill in 1909 considered itself 'very much handicapped during the last year by the want of sufficient funds to keep the company going successfully', a situation that had not improved by the following year when the company was 'very much in need of funds'.⁶⁶ Finance problems were not restricted to daily cash flow concerns but included capital expenditure costs. Both types of expenditure were evident at the parish of St Stephen Shepherds Bush Hammersmith. In 1894, immediately after the parish company had been started, a request was made for the 'necessary funds to purchase the instruments for a band'.⁶⁷ A year later the parish was concerned that 'we have no funds to carry us on' and despite this *cri de Coeur*, were the following month 'very much hampered through want of funds and still hope to receive some response to our last appeal'.⁶⁸ Matters improved in 1896 when 'several kind friends are collecting weekly subscriptions for us' but by the following year matters had deteriorated and the company had 'lack of funds [...] many of our past supporters having contributed nothing [...] during the present year'.⁶⁹ A decade later

⁶³ LMA, P83/LUK/76, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1901-05 (Sep 1901): due to this lack of money 'it has been found desirable to dispense for a time at least with the services of the bandmaster to the LDCLB' who had been employed in a teaching position with the band.

⁶⁴ LMA, P83/LUK/79/1-10, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1913 (Dec).

⁶⁵ LMA, P90/JNB/76, St John Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1912 (Mar).

⁶⁶ LMA, P84/MRK/174/7/2, St Mark Notting Hill, Parish Magazines 1909-12 (Oct 1909 & Mar 1910).

⁶⁷ LMA, P80/STE/188-89, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1894-95 (Apr 1894).

⁶⁸ LMA, P80/STE/188-89, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1894-95 (Apr & May 1895).

⁶⁹ LMA, P80/STE/191-192, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1896-97 (Apr 1896 & Nov 1897).

finance was still a problem and the LDCLB admitted that 'we are always in want of more money the expenses mount up so quickly'.⁷⁰

Finance concerns were not faced solely by the poor sections of the diocese. In 1911 at St Mary the Boltons, a parish in the wealthier areas of Kensington, concern was raised that LDCLB 'expenditure has been considerable involving a cost to the Vicar's Fund of over £24 more than last year'.⁷¹ The position had not improved by 1912, when 'the cost of the LDCLB has again been considerable' however by 1913 a 'very satisfactory reduction in the cost of the LDCLB' had been achieved.⁷² Finance was also a concern in the new suburbs. The parish of St Andrew Willesden reported in 1908 that funds 'are sadly depleted' and St Faith Brentford, a parish only established in 1907, commented in 1910 simply that 'more funds – urgent'.⁷³

As mentioned above financial needs were both in respect of day-to-day running costs and one off payments in respect of capital expenditure. Companies needed funds to cover a range of costs which included head-office fees payable, uniforms, ammunition, travel costs to displays and battalion marches and the overall expense of the annual camp. The affiliation fee paid to the LDCLB varied during the period but had to be met by the parish. In certain instances payment was difficult, a situation that was also common in the CLB where the number of 'suspended' companies was highlighted in the previous chapter. In 1907 the parish of St Mark Tollington Park Islington reported that 'we need funds and have not even enough in hand to pay our affiliation fee to Head Quarters'.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ LMA, P80/STE/199, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Jun 1906).

⁷¹ LMA, P84/MRY1/42, St Mary the Boltons Kensington, Annual Reports 1909-16 (1911).

⁷² LMA, P84/MRY1/42, St Mary the Boltons Kensington, Annual Reports 1909-16 (1912 & 1913).

⁷³ LMA, DRO/099/139, St Andrew Willesden, Parish Magazines 1908-09 (Dec 1908); DRO76/55, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1910 (Aug).

⁷⁴ LMA, P83/MRK/145-154, St Mark Tollington Park, Parish Magazines 1904-14 (Oct 1907).

Similar problems were apparent in 1910 at St Faith Brentford when the parish reported that ‘funds at present are not sufficient to enable the payment of the affiliation fee now due to Head Quarters of 21/-’.⁷⁵ In 1905 St Stephen Shepherds Bush Hammersmith, a parish whose brigade had had financial problems in the 1890s, was ‘still urgently in need of funds to pay for lads’ uniforms, use of hall’; the latter being used as a place for the lads to undertake drill.⁷⁶ The company at St Alban Fulham reported being generally ‘short of money’ in 1910 and by the following year they were ‘desperately in need of money’, and two years later matters had not improved when they found themselves ‘very hard pressed in deed [due to a] large bill at tailors’.⁷⁷ Further east the parish of St Columba Haggerston had similar concerns. In 1905 it was decided that ‘the old Company is to be revived’ and ‘to make a sound start we need £30’.⁷⁸ However later that year despite having ‘some 80 on the books [...] as funds are so low only 30 lads are equipped’.⁷⁹ By the following year ‘funds are very low in deed’ and in May 1906 it was reported that ‘our appeal last month brought no monetary assistance’ and by June there was a specific request in respect of the cost of uniforms at ‘12/6 per head’.⁸⁰ Two months later ‘funds are very low’ there having been ‘no response to our appeal for help for uniforms,’ and 1907 saw a similar tale with declarations that ‘we are still in want of funds’ and that the Company was ‘*deeply in debt* and there are still 30 lads need tunics’.⁸¹ Despite these financial problems the LDCLB

⁷⁵ LMA, DRO76/55, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1910 (Jun).

⁷⁶ LMA, P80/STE/198, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1902-05 (Oct 1905): it is not clear if the company still utilised the drill hall of the 3rd London Volunteers as it had done in 1900 (see previous chapter).

⁷⁷ LMA, P77/ALB/070-073, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1910-13 (Feb 1910, Mar 1911 & Jan 1913).

⁷⁸ LMA, P91/COL/124-125, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Jul & Oct 1905).

⁷⁹ LMA, P91/COL/124-125, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Dec 1905).

⁸⁰ LMA, P91/COL/124-125, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Apr, May, Jun 1906).

⁸¹ LMA, P91/COL/124-125, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Aug 1906, Mar & Jun 1907). The emphasis is in the original document.

continued and was last mentioned in the parish magazines in April 1909.⁸² However in 1910 the parish established a troop of the BPBS, and this encountered the same financial problems as those faced by the LDCLB. Upon starting the troop in 1910, the parish magazine mentioned that the 'only drawback is lack of funds'.⁸³ In the following year the parish commented that 'we shall be very pleased if any one can help us with uniforms'.⁸⁴ An interesting slant is added to the financial concerns of these two organisations by the fact that the Hon. Rupert Guinness was honorary scoutmaster of the BPBS troop and the comment was made that he had been 'willing to help us at all times when we were a company of the LDCLB'.⁸⁵ Obviously his willingness to help did not encompass financial assistance.

One constant theme in LDCLB finance requirements, highlighted in the above examples, including one in respect of the scouts, was that of uniforms. The provision of uniforms was an essential; the prospective 'lads' were keen to be in uniform, the wearing of which created a sense of belonging. Uniforms helped with discipline and acted as 'advertising' for the organisation. In many ways uniforms were the outward manifestation of the comradeship that the LDCLB sought to engender and in the 1900 Handbook 'Dress Regulation' was covered in detail on pages 11-13. This importance was reflected in the fact that the cost of uniforms contributed to a large percentage of overall company expenditure. In 1910 at St John Great Stanmore Harrow out of a total annual expenditure of just over £22 more than £9 was in respect of uniforms.⁸⁶ Such was the drain on finances of the cost of the uniform at St John Ladbroke Grove, the 'boys are

⁸² LMA, P91/COL/126, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1909 (Apr).

⁸³ LMA, P91/COL/127, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1910 (Nov).

⁸⁴ LMA, P91/COL/128, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1911 (Jul).

⁸⁵ LMA, P91/COL/127, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1910 (Nov).

⁸⁶ LMA, DRO14/H3, St John Harrow, LDCLB Accounts 1910.

required to make a deposit in the Savings Bank as security for the uniforms;’ this requirement was at a parish in the poorer northern part of Kensington deanery.⁸⁷ One other imaginative solution was found at St Faith Brentford where in 1906 it was decided that ‘the company will provide tunics, lads will buy their own trousers’, prior to this arrangement the company had no uniform at all.⁸⁸

These innovative responses to the problems faced by parishes in respect of the funding of uniforms did not conceal the general underlying problem that continued at various parishes. In 1903 the parish of St Saviour Hampstead reported that there was a ‘deficit of £2 and £10 is owing to the outfitters for new uniforms’ and in 1907 ‘money is much wanted for the purchase of new uniforms’.⁸⁹ By 1911 ‘expenditure has been curtailed as much as possible’ and the parish expressed some exasperation that, whilst the LDCLB was a ‘movement which commands the sympathy and approval of the highest ecclesiastical and military authorities’, it also ‘necessarily involves considerable expense in various ways’.⁹⁰ The inference was that financial assistance from one or both of these authorities would have been welcomed. Similar concerns, particularly in respect of the military authorities were expressed by the parish of St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate. This parish had introduced an LDCLB in 1900 and immediately acknowledged that it would ‘need financial support’ particularly as the ‘initial expenses of starting a company [were] very heavy’.⁹¹ Despite these warnings by 1901 the company was in ‘heavy debt’ and later

⁸⁷ LMA, P84/JN/123, St John Ladbroke Grove, Year Books 1880-1907 (1907).

⁸⁸ LMA, DRO76/52, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1906 (Sep): the company had been formed at some date between 1902 and 1905.

⁸⁹ LMA, P81/SAV/135-136, St Saviour Hampstead, Year Books 1896-1915 (1903 & 1907).

⁹⁰ LMA, P81/SAV/135-136, St Saviour Hampstead, Year Books 1896-1915 (1911) & P81/SAV/152, St Saviour Hampstead, Monthly Papers 1911-12 (Feb 1911).

⁹¹ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Apr & Jun 1900).

that year 'sadly in need of funds'.⁹² The company ceased soon after this date and was reformed in 1908.⁹³ By 1912 the financial problems had re-emerged when the LDCLB wanted 'money badly, our bugles are old [...] new uniforms are needed' and in 1913, mirroring St Saviour's comments, it remarked that 'although we are recognised by the military authorities as a Cadet Unit no grant is made by them for this uniform'.⁹⁴

This lack of assistance from either the ecclesiastical or military authorities was also apparent in the lack of retention and utilisation, within the diocese, of clergy who were experienced and enthusiastic about the development and running of parish brigades and troops. Considering the importance of the individual in the development of the brigade or troop at parish level it would have seemed appropriate that, in those instances where there were experienced clergy, that they would be utilised to 'spread the word' within the diocese. There were of course some instances of this happening. At St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate for instance the LDCLB was re-started in 1904 with Rev. Frank Sidney Hickin, a curate at the parish, in charge. Hickin was described as experienced in Brigade work.⁹⁵

One case that may give an insight, and has implications in respect of the central administration of the diocese, was that of the Rev. William Howard Braine. Between 1894 and 1904 Braine was curate at four parishes in different deaneries of the diocese, for all of which there is archival evidence of LDCLB involvement during or around his

⁹² LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Jan & Apr 1901).

⁹³ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Sep 1911: the LDCLB 'has now completed 3 years work in this office').

⁹⁴ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Sep 1912 & Jul 1913): as discussed in the previous chapter the Provisional Regulations for Cadet Corps of 1910 under which the LDCLB agreed to be a recognized cadet unit did bring certain benefits but none of these were in respect of monies or uniforms.

⁹⁵ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael-at-Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Nov 1904): Hickin had been curate at St Luke West Holloway in Islington deanery and was listed as captain of their LDCLB in the 1900 Handbook.

period of appointment.⁹⁶ This association with the organisation continued when in October 1904 the parish magazine of St John South Hackney reported that Braine had replaced Rev William Wingfield Colley as captain of the parish LDCLB.⁹⁷ However, whilst this appeared an example of a parish curate, with past LDCLB experience, undertaking responsibilities for the company within the parish, in this particular case there was an anomaly. Braine never held any clerical position within the parish of St John South Hackney. In late 1904 he left his position as curate of St Paul Kilburn and took up duties as a local schoolmaster. According to the *Clergy List 1915*, between 1905 and 1906 Braine was a schoolmaster at Haberdashers School Hampstead, whilst for the same years, the 1938 edition of *Crockfords Clerical Directory* noted Braine's position as schoolmaster at Kilburn Grammar School. Despite this disparity neither source listed him as having a curacy at St John South Hackney.⁹⁸ This particular parish had, as has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, encountered problems in finding a new officer in 1902. In 1896 Braine's predecessor, Colley had been the initial captain of the LDCLB but by the 1900 Handbook he had been replaced by a member of the laity, a Mr J. W. Forrest. However the parish magazine of April 1904 referred to Colley as captain and hence at some date between 1900 and 1904 he had been re-appointed to the position.⁹⁹ As Braine had no record of being a curate at the parish the inference must be that the parish had encountered problems in replacing Colley as captain and Braine, a schoolmaster at a reasonably local school, and with substantial brigade experience had been, to use a

⁹⁶ The parishes were: St Barnabas Hornsey Road Islington 1894-96, St Matthew Upper Clapton 1896-97, St James Clerkenwell 1898-1902 and St Paul Kilburn 1902-04: Braine was listed as captain at St James in the 1900 Handbook.

⁹⁷ LMA, P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1904 (Oct): Colley had been appointed curate at St Nicholas Harpenden a position he held until 1914.

⁹⁸ The *Clergy List* is the 73rd edition whilst *Crockfords* is the 67th. This is the only discrepancy for Braine and both list his next curacy starting in 1906 as at All Saints East Finchley Hornsey deanery.

⁹⁹ LMA, P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1904 (Apr).

modern phrase ‘parachuted in’, very much like a ‘locum’.¹⁰⁰ Braine’s appointment as captain to the LDCLB at St John South Hackney could have been because he was known to the local clergy as being experienced in that role. However there is the possibility that this case implied a certain level of central administration, including the retention and updating of databases of clergy, who could have met individual parish needs across deanery boundaries.

This footprint of a central administration might also be apparent in those instances where the appointment date of a curate to a parish coincided, sometimes more roughly than others, with the registration of that parish’s LDCLB. In the earliest period of the LDCLB there were examples of this. In 1891 James Kirkman-Wood was appointed curate at the parish of St Peter Clerkenwell and by the next year the parish had an LDCLB, of which he was captain. A similar sequence of events happened at St Mary Ealing where Francis Wheaton Heycock was listed as captain of the parish company, having been appointed curate at the parish in 1891.¹⁰¹

These examples may do little but highlight an initial enthusiasm and involvement from within the diocesan administration subsequent upon the start of the new brigade organisation. However there were other later instances of appointments coinciding with the registration of companies. In Hampstead deanery there were two examples of appointment dates coinciding with LDCLB registration years. George Cherry Weaver and Alured George Clarke were curates at St Mary Kilburn and Emmanuel Hampstead respectively, with appointment dates of 1897 and 1896. In the 1900 Handbook both are

¹⁰⁰ By 1913 Braine was curate at St Jude Hampstead and was also listed as a scoutmaster in Cricklewood (LPL Davidson ff 215-228).

¹⁰¹ Both these curates listed as LDCLB captains in the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men First Annual Report 1892.

listed as captains of their respective parish companies. In 1898 James Albert Burnley was appointed curate at St Matthias Bethnal Green, the same year that the LDCLB was registered at the parish, and he was listed as captain in the 1900 Handbook. The following year in 1899 John Riley was appointed curate at St Thomas Arbour Square, a parish in Stepney deanery, and in October that same year the parish LDCLB was registered and by 1900 he was captain.

There were also examples, similar to that of Braine, where clergy with LDCLB experience were appointed to other parishes and the registration of that parish's company coincided with their appointment. Charles de Rockfort Wall, for instance, was appointed curate at St Andrew Willesden in 1895 and the LDCLB was registered in March 1896. In 1898 Wall moved to take up a curacy at St James Norland, the same year the LDCLB was registered at that parish, and in the 1900 Handbook he was listed as captain. Cecil John Wood was another example; he was curate at St Marylebone parish church from 1899 until 1902, and was listed in the 1900 Handbook as captain of the LDCLB. In 1902 he was appointed curate at St Andrew Bethnal Green. The parish had no LDCLB at the date of the 1900 Handbook, but by 1903 there was one in existence.¹⁰²

These apparent 'transfers' of the brigade concept between parishes might mark a conscious diocesan expansion of the LDCLB ethos into those parishes that had not been initially involved. However these examples appeared to be the exception and not the rule. Two other types of examples show that this practice was not the norm. Firstly there were instances of clergy from parishes with LDCLB involvement taking up new appointments within the diocese but not taking the brigade concept with them. One

¹⁰² LMA, ACC/1926/C/121, The Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys of London First Annual Report 1903.

example was John Scandrett, curate at St Stephen Poplar from 1889 until 1894, and captain of the parish LDCLB in 1892. In 1894 Scandrett was appointed curate at Christ Church Spitalfields and later he undertook similar duties at St James Ratcliff and in 1900 he was appointed vicar at St John Wapping. None of these three parishes had brigade involvement. A further example was J. Anastasio Forest, who in 1894 was a curate at the parish of Christ Church Lancaster Gate and also an officer in that parish's LDCLB.¹⁰³ In 1898 he was appointed vicar at St Saviour Hammersmith and whilst the parish registered a company in the same year, Forrest was not captain, a position held by a layman. Forrest only stayed at St Saviour for two years before being appointed vicar of St John Potters Bar in Hornsey deanery. During his incumbency at St John, which was until 1913, there was no record of brigade or scout activity. Similar circumstances surround James Kirkman-Wood, who as already noted was in 1892 LDCLB captain at St Peter Clerkenwell, a parish at which he was curate; later that same year he became curate at St Leonard Heston, in Ealing deanery, and subsequently from 1895 until 1901, curate at Christ Church Enfield. Neither of these latter parishes had LDCLB involvement. In 1901 he became chaplain at Boys' Farm Home Barnet. One other example was Lewis Govaertz Hunt, curate at St Jude Bethnal Green from 1892 until 1894, during which period he was captain of the parish company. His next appointment was curate at St John Smiths Square Westminster, a position he held until 1900. During his time at St John there was no brigade activity.

In addition to the above there were also examples of clergy who had held positions in diocesan parishes with LDCLB involvement whose subsequent appointments were outside the diocese. This occurrence implied that, despite the shortage of suitable officers,

¹⁰³ LMA, P87/CTC/54, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parochial Report and Parish Magazines 1894 (Jan).

retention within the diocese of clergy active in the brigade movement was not a priority. There are in excess of fifteen examples of this occurrence, which include the following. In 1892 Frederick William Douglass was captain of the parish LDCLB and curate at St Pancras Euston Road. He left both positions in the same year taking up a new curacy outside the diocese. Whether his move contributed to the closure of the LDCLB is unknown but at some stage prior to 1898 the company ceased, as a new one was registered in that year. In 1902 John Godfrey Fitz-Maurice Day left the diocese having been curate at St John Hoxton from 1898 until 1902; he was listed in the 1900 Handbook as captain. In 1892 Charles Carteret Gosselin was captain of the company at St Clement Fulham. He was curate at the parish from 1889 until 1896 in which year he left the diocese.

The overall impression was that the transference of the brigade movement between parishes through the medium of local clergy involvement was negligible. There are various potential reasons for this. Most of the clergy involved were curates and the assumption is that, even if they moved to a new parish with every intention of taking with them the ethos of the LDCLB, they would only have been able to progress matters with the support of their new vicar. The existing lack of involvement at that particular parish might have been due to that vicar's reticence, or other social, demographic issues that took priority. Whatever the reason for the lack of transference, and it would have varied on a parish to parish basis, the failure to galvanise an already existing utilisation base raised questions as to the effectiveness of the central diocesan drive in respect of the LDCLB. It is difficult, due to the comparatively short period covered by scouting in the pre-war years, to find similar examples of non-utilisation of experienced clergy. However

as discussed in the previous chapter the LDBS had affiliated with the BPBS, and the latter organisation was the more powerful and successful, but it was also the one within which the clergy were found less and less in the influential and pivotal position of scoutmaster having been ‘relegated’ to the role of troop chaplain.

This lack of a central function and the financial problems encountered in many parishes would have fallen within the original objects of the LDCWYM as given in a presentation to the Chapter of the Rural Deanery of Spitalfields in January 1886, which have already been discussed in detail in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁴ These objects included:

- Giving grants of money towards starting local institutions for young men
- Giving advice on best practices and ‘best modes of procedure’
- Establishing a central corresponding office

Of these there was no record of any grants being available to, or applied for by, the LDCLB and there was scant evidence of sharing of best practices. Braine with his multiple curacies and brigades within the diocese may be an exception. There was a ‘central office’ function as proven by the problems encountered in 1909 in differentiating between the LDCLB and the LDBS as discussed in chapter 5. Instances of curacy appointment dates that coincided with the start of the parish LDCLB are scant evidence of a proactive central administration. The role of the LDCWYM appeared to have substantially diminished from that of its original objects and its relationship with ‘The Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys and Girls of London’ (TCL) the organisation that correlated the 1903 Return of boys and girls clubs from the London

¹⁰⁴ LMA, DRD/L2/1/1, Minutes of the Chapter of the Rural Deanery of Spitalfields: (see footnote 22 in the previous chapter).

deaneries was not clear.¹⁰⁵ The TCL was incorporated in October 1901 after a public meeting held at the Mansion House in the previous February. The First Annual Report of the TCL described its 'field of work' as the 'typical working class boy just leaving school, he is only 13 or 14 years old – just the age at which the middle class boy is going to a public school'. This comparison of the working class boy and the public schoolboy was referenced by Springhall in his comment that youth organisations were a 'mechanism for the maintenance of class stability modelled on public schools.'¹⁰⁶ However there is insufficient archival material on the TCL to understand its effectiveness and relationship with the other organisations.

Despite this lack of an effective central diocesan organisation to galvanise the expansion of the brigade and scout movements through the parishes, there may be threads apparent that would highlight commonalities and trends. There were social and gender reasons for parishes in particular areas to utilise the youth organisations to gain a relevance with the local population. This was particularly apposite in the newly formed parishes in the suburbs. In 1907, its inaugural year, the parish of St Michael Cricklewood considered that 'one of the most pressing needs is to find some opportunity of reaching the many young lads from 11-18 who live around this new district,' and that the formation of a LDCLB was one of the best ways.¹⁰⁷ By 1909 the parish was 'anxious to see the numbers of the company increase' and in order to achieve this they considered that 'we shall probably form scout patrols in this company'.¹⁰⁸ In Hampton deanery in the

¹⁰⁵ LMA, ACC/1926/C/121, The Twentieth Century League in Aid of the Boys and Girls of London, First Annual Report 1903: this Return covered deaneries in both the dioceses of London and Southwark; no deaneries in the County of Middlesex were included.

¹⁰⁶ Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁷ LMA, DRO095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines Oct 1907-Dec 1912 (Oct 1907).

¹⁰⁸ LMA, DRO095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines Oct 1907-Dec 1912 (Apr 1909).

1890s the parishes with LDCLB companies were concentrated towards the east of the deanery where the increase in population levels was seen. By the second decade of the twentieth century most of these original LDCLB companies had disappeared, an indicator perhaps that the initial incentive was no longer so pressing, or the initiative had proven unsuccessful.

There were instances of poorer parishes being initially involved in the brigade movement. In Hackney and Stoke Newington deanery the poorer parishes were to the south in Hackney, and the first two parishes to introduce the LDCLB were St Augustine and St Luke, both in Hackney. In Fulham deanery the four parishes that had LDCLB involvement in the 1890s were included in those that, in the 1901 census, were considered to contain 'a large number of poor'.¹⁰⁹ In Paddington deanery four of the six parishes that had brigade involvement in the years prior to 1914 were based in the poorer north-west of the deanery: the Kensal Green, Kilburn and Harrow Road areas. However as a counterpoint to this the wealthy Christ Church Lancaster Gate had been the first parish in the deanery to register a LDCLB in 1893. The social divide was accentuated in certain instances by the division of the parish brigades into battalions. By 1900 in Kensington deanery, those brigades from parishes in the north of the deanery were in the 12th Battalion with parishes from Chiswick and Hammersmith, whilst those from the wealthier southern parishes were in the 13th Battalion, together with parishes from Chelsea.

One obvious driver to create a brigade or troop within the parish was if the neighbouring parishes were already involved, and this was a common trend, particularly in the close confines of the East End. In Poplar deanery three neighbouring parishes

¹⁰⁹ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Apr 1903.

registered brigades in the last quarter of 1896, but this may also have been influenced by the general increase in registrations seen during that period, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Twelve of the fourteen parishes in Bethnal Green deanery had involvement with the LDCLB for some period prior to 1914; a statistic that could be used to endorse the theory that the poorer the parish the more likely it was to have an LDCLB. However the presence of the LDCLB could also be strong in more wealthy environments. By the turn of the century in Highgate deanery eight parishes had an LDCLB registered. Highgate deanery did not survive the 1901 reorganisation and these eight parishes were transferred to the newly created Hampstead deanery. Hampstead was described at the turn of the century as a 'wealthy borough' where 'only in the side or back streets of the town itself is there any poverty'.¹¹⁰ Therefore whilst there were instances of an apparent bias towards the poorer areas of the diocese, there were also examples of wealthier areas with brigade involvement and as such, no specific economic trend was discernible.

As discussed in chapter 3 London was in some areas a militarised space with army bases in certain vicinities and this military presence may have been influential in engendering the brigade spirit within the local parishes. In Islington deanery, whilst there was a reasonable geographical spread of parishes with brigade and scout involvement, there was a definite bias in favour of those parishes towards the south and south-west of the deanery. Whilst this area was the poorer section of the deanery, and this might have explained this trend, the military presence within the deanery was also concentrated at two southerly locations; in Penton Street just to the north of Pentonville Road, and Offord Road near Barnsbury Park. In Marylebone deanery, the two parishes to the north-west, St

¹¹⁰ Walter R. Warren, 'The Problem of North London', in *The Religious Life of London*, ed. by Richard Mudie-Smith (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), pp. 127-160 (p. 127, 132).

Mark Hamilton Terrace and All Saints St John's Wood had a local military presence, and both had registered an LDCLB in the 1890s. Holborn deanery however, could stand as a counter argument to the influence of the local military, as the parishes with brigade and scout activity were primarily within the south-west corner of the deanery, one of the few areas within the deanery that did not have a military presence. One particular instance of a parish in Holborn deanery with a longstanding military presence was Christ Church Woburn Square. Prior to 1902 Christ Church had been a chapel of ease to St Giles in the Fields. In the 1890s a Volunteer battalion was based at nearby Chenies Street, in the Bedford Square and Tottenham Court Road areas, and by 1914 four Territorial Force battalions were situated there. Despite this presence there was no record of any association by Christ Church with either the LDCLB or scouts.¹¹¹ A similar set of circumstances were apparent in Kensington deanery. The two parishes of St Michael and St Clement Notting Hill were situated in the most north-westerly part of the deanery and both were bordered by Wormwood Scrubs. Despite the fact that the 1879 Wormwood Scrubs Act had designated that area as a metropolitan exercising ground and range for the military, neither of these parishes had an LDCLB or scouts. These parishes were also in the poorer section of Kensington deanery.

There was no distinct pattern, and the reasons for a particular parish becoming involved with the brigades or scouts would in all probability be multifaceted and a mix of individual initiative, social and demographic pressures and military influences. The popularity of both the LDCLB and the LDBS in Ealing deanery has already been discussed, and that deanery incorporated many of the differing reasons for involvement

¹¹¹ *Army List* Mar 1891 (647), Dec 1901 (1129), Aug 1914 (695, 1569 & 1587): the Volunteer battalion had the sobriquet 'St Giles's and St George's'.

with the LDCLB. The reliance upon one individual was shown at the LDCLB of All Saints South Acton which was 'in abeyance' in 1900 due to the 'serious illness of the captain'.¹¹² Social economic and demographic changes were evident. In the late 1890s one vicar in the area commented upon the 'remarkable strides' seen in Southall over the 'past dozen years' whilst another in 1912 implied that hardship had still been endured when he commented that 'there are fewer families in great distress through lack of employment this winter'.¹¹³ In addition there was the substantial long standing military presence at Hounslow, which was not only the base for certain sections of the army command but also for Volunteer and later Territorial Force battalions.¹¹⁴ Ealing deanery was a microcosm of the various forces that influenced the local parish in its relationship with the brigades and scouts.

One area in which there was a direct association and a potential for influence between clergy and the military was that of the army chaplain. The role of the army chaplain in general has been discussed in chapter 4 and this chapter will now analyse those clergy involved as army chaplains with the Volunteers and later the Territorial Forces within the diocese of London. In order to reflect the general developments in the pre-war years and the changes instigated by the Haldane reforms to the army's structure in the 1900s the *Army Lists* for March 1891, December 1901, January 1910 and August 1914 will be analysed.¹¹⁵ It is important to note that it was the army that set the geographical

¹¹² LMA, DRO56/027, All Saints South Acton, Annual Reports 1893-1908 (1900).

¹¹³ LMA, DRO/141/R/101/002, Holy Trinity Southall, Parish Magazines 1898 (Mar); DRO/76/57, St Faith Hounslow, Parish Magazines 1912 (Jan).

¹¹⁴ The churchyard at Heston St Leonard a parish in Ealing deanery includes the grave of the last soldier flogged to death in the British army, an event that took place in 1846 at Hounslow Barracks.

¹¹⁵ The *Army List* actually shows the position as at the close of the previous month; hence the March 1891 *List* refers to the establishment as at the 28th February 1891 and that for August 1914 the 31st July 1914; this latter one is therefore a register of the officers of the British Army in the very last days of peace in that summer.

parameters and boundaries of its involvement within the diocese, as it was they who decided where military bases should be situated. In this the army themselves were in many instances subject to practicalities, and an inbred conservatism that rendered change not only well-nigh impossible, but also unpalatable. Many changes had little effect upon the relationship between the military and its urban environment. In 1891 the Cavalry's 1st Life Guards were based in Regent's Park, the 2nd Life Guards at Hyde Park and the Royal Horse Guards at Windsor, and by 1914 these had changed to the 1st Life Guards at Hyde Park, the 2nd at Windsor and the Royal Horse Guards to Regent's Park. However the underlying demographics, social influences and ethos of the army remained set within the culture of late-Victorian and Edwardian London. The army therefore maintained a stability and constancy that was virtually unaffected by the various changes that assailed London throughout this period.

Prior to undertaking a detailed assessment of army chaplain involvement within the diocese of London it is important to understand who was responsible for the appointment of clergy to these positions, in order to ascertain the levels of influence available to the church in this respect. As 'the Volunteer chaplaincies had lapsed', Haldane together with other members of the military and representatives from a range of denominations, had attended a conference in July 1908 in respect of the formation of a chaplains' department for the Territorial Force.¹¹⁶ The suggestion was made at the conference that 'any denomination having a strength of 15 per cent of a battalion or similar unit would be allowed a chaplain'.¹¹⁷ From 1909 chaplains in the Territorial Force were 'steered' by 'a new Territorial Force Chaplains' Advisory Committee which was appointed by the War

¹¹⁶ *The Times*, 1 Aug 1908, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ *The Times*, 1 Aug 1908, p. 13.

Office'.¹¹⁸ The suggestion in respect of the '15 per cent' does not appear to have been enforced either by the military representatives or by certain denominations, for instance Snape, referencing Johnstone and Haggerty, comments that 'no Roman Catholic chaplain was appointed to the Territorial Force prior to August 1914, notwithstanding the existence of historically Catholic Volunteer (now Territorial) units such as the London [...] Irish'.¹¹⁹ Snape comments that 'the Nonconformist churches were quick to claim more than their share of Territorial chaplaincies' and this would imply that each denomination was able to recommend/appoint clergy as army chaplains to the Territorial Force without undue military involvement in the process.¹²⁰ The requirement to create a discrete chaplains' department for the Territorial Force also implies that there had been no equivalent body in respect of the Volunteers, or the other auxiliary bodies. The implication is that apart from the formation of a 'department' and 'advisory committee', on an individual case basis, there was little difference between the system under the Territorial Force and that in place for the Volunteers; the decision making process would have been similar. This process was hinted at in 1918 when a Territorial Force chaplain wrote of 'clergymen who were selected by the lord lieutenant of the county and the bishop of the diocese in the time of peace as being, according to War Office Regulations, of such a position that we 'could influence recruiting for the Territorial Force''.¹²¹ This joint involvement, between one of the highest representatives of local society and the

¹¹⁸ Michael Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department 1796-1953: Clergy Under Fire* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 182.

¹¹⁹ Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, p. 182; Snape's reference for this comment is T. Johnstone & J Haggerty, *The Cross on the Sword* (London: 1996) however both the March 1891 (646) and the August 1914 (1597-8) *Army Lists* included reference to Rev G. C. Talbot (RC) and Rev S. M. B. St John (RC) as chaplains to the 16th (London Irish) Middlesex The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own) Volunteer Battalion and the 18th (County of London) Battalion, The London Regiment (London Irish Rifles) Infantry Territorial Force, respectively.

¹²⁰ Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, p. 182.

¹²¹ *The Times*, 28 Mar 1918, p. 9.

hierarchical head of the established church in the diocese, would only be an outward manifestation of a traditional longstanding, social, educational and in many instances family association between two power-elites.¹²² In such circumstances it would be difficult to argue that the bishop would not be able to influence army chaplain appointments within his diocese and from his local clergy, if he so wished.

Appendix 8 details the army chaplains associated with the army battalions based within the geographical boundaries of the diocese of London for the four sample months under analysis. It should be borne in mind that the role of the army chaplain was traditional and had a social context that might in some circumstances take priority against a desire to utilise his role as a means of furthering local association between the parish and the army. Against each name the position held within the Church at that date and also the army unit to which they were attached and its geographical base are indicated. This information highlights those clergy who through their role within the church could be described as being part of the hierarchy of the Church of England either generally or as part of the diocese. The appendix also highlights those clergy who held clerical positions outside the diocese of London; the 'absentee chaplains'. In both instances any opportunities to progress and diffuse a closer association between the military and the diocesan parishes must have been hindered by either their absence from either the diocese or from the local laity and parish. An acceptance of such a hindrance, by the church in general and the diocese of London specifically, must raise a question about the importance the church and diocese placed upon improving and utilising the relationship between the local army unit and the parish population. In contrast to these two groupings

¹²² For a discussion upon the role of the lord lieutenant in the development of the Volunteers and the preference certain showed for the militia see Beckett, *Britain's Part-Time Soldiers*, chapter 6 'The Volunteer Triumphant (1858-1899)', pp. 164-195.

there were those chaplains who held clerical positions within the diocese, some of which were in close geographical position to that of the army unit with which they were associated.

As shown by appendix 8 the actual number of chaplains at any specific time was small compared with overall clerical numbers within the diocese. Opportunities were restricted in the main prior to 1908 to positions with a Volunteer battalion or after that date with a battalion of the Territorial Force. Whilst, throughout the period, the majority of such battalions within the diocese had a chaplain, there were instances where this was not the case. In 1891 there were in the region of thirty battalions within the diocese; of these five had no chaplain and one other the 16th Volunteer Battalion The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own) whose sobriquet was the 'London Irish', as mentioned earlier in this chapter, had a Roman Catholic Chaplain, to reflect its membership. By 1914 these Volunteer battalions had been replaced by a similar number of Territorial Force battalions. The majority had chaplains but there were four without a chaplain and one, the 14th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment, known as the London Scottish, had a chaplain from the Church of Scotland. By 1914 the Volunteers' 'London Irish' had been renamed the 'London Irish Rifles', and had, as already highlighted earlier in this chapter, a Roman Catholic and also an Anglican one. Only one battalion had no chaplain in either 1891 or 1914 and that was the Rifle Brigade's Volunteer Battalion known as the 'Artist's' and the 1914 equivalent, the London Regiment's Territorial Force battalion, known as the 'Artist's Rifles'. Both these battalions were based in Euston Road. Battalions were not restricted to having one chaplain, and whilst in the case of the London Irish Rifles in August 1914 the two chaplains represented different

denominations there were instances of multiple Anglican chaplains in one battalion. This was particularly apparent in December 1901, when total chaplain numbers in the diocese had increased to within the region of fifty. This growth did not reflect a growth in the number of the Volunteer battalions but an increase in certain cases of the number of chaplains per battalion. The 5th (West Middlesex) Volunteer Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps based in St John's Wood, which in March 1891 had one chaplain, by 1901 had three. Others had increased from one to two; the 15th (Customs & Docks) Volunteer Battalion The Rifle Brigade based at the Customs House on the Thames being an example. It is possible that this increase was due to the impact of the Boer War; but the precise reasons and instigating forces - clerical and/or military - are open to discussion. However, from a practical viewpoint, there was a limit on the number of chaplains that could be accommodated by a battalion. Hence, from a Church of England, viewpoint in order to glean as much influence as possible and to enhance the church-military relationship from this local military association it would seem to be important that the most appropriate clergy were used. Therefore non-diocesan absentee chaplains and members of the diocesan or church hierarchy were not the most effective in generating links between the clergy and the military at a local level.

Appendix 8 highlights that throughout the pre-war years there were instances of non-diocesan absentee chaplains.¹²³ In March 1891 the total number of Anglican chaplains within the diocese was in the mid-thirties; of these seven could be described as non-diocesan. One had retired, four were incumbents at parishes in other dioceses that ranged from neighbouring Southwark, through Norfolk and the Isle of Wight and two were

¹²³ There were also instances of an 'absentee' in reverse; Rev Frederick John Ponsonby for example who had been vicar at St Mary Munster Square, St Pancras since 1877 was in 1891 army chaplain to the 1st Volunteer Battalion The Northamptonshire Regiment which was based in Northampton.

bishops of other dioceses. Three of the four incumbents, John Kingston, Benjamin Littlewood and Joseph Miles, had no connection with the diocese of London prior to 1891 and therefore no obvious reason why they were army chaplains within the diocese.¹²⁴ Henry Blunt, the other non-diocesan chaplain had been vicar at Holy Trinity Grays Inn Road between 1879 and 1884 and he retained the army chaplain position at a battalion, based close to that parish, in Holborn Circus. The remaining two 'absentee' clergy were also representatives of the church's hierarchy: William Walsham How, Bishop of Wakefield and William MacLagan recently appointed Archbishop of York. Both of these had historic connections with the diocese. How had been Bishop of Bedford between 1879 and 1889, prior to the position being renamed Bishop of Stepney, and despite his transfer to Wakefield retained the chaplaincy to a battalion based at the Customs House. MacLagan had a shorter connection with the diocese having spent the three years from 1875 as Vicar at St Mary Abbots Kensington prior to his appointment in 1878 as Bishop of Lichfield and subsequently at York in 1891. In addition he was chaplain to a battalion based in Lincoln's Inn, which had seemingly no geographical connection with his Kensington parish.

By December 1901 the number of absentee chaplains had increased to ten. Kingston, an absentee in 1891, had during the 1890s retired and moved to Ladbroke Grove; he also retained the chaplaincy position with a battalion based in Regent's Park. Four of the other nine absentee chaplains had an historic connection with the diocese. In 1891 Alfred Scott had been chaplain with the 18th Volunteer Battalion The Rifle Brigade based in Harrow Road Paddington and he still retained this position in December 1901, despite having taken up new duties outside the diocese in 1900. William Henry Addison, who by 1901

¹²⁴ Kingston had been a chaplain in the Royal Navy since 1861.

was an incumbent in a Kent parish, had between 1890 and 1894 been a curate at Christ Church Mayfair, although he was chaplain to a battalion based further east in the Farringdon Road. Edgar Sheppard had had a short period as an incumbent in Hornsey prior to a curacy in Marlow, and Samuel Barker Simson had in the 1890s held curacies in Acton, Ealing and West Hampstead. The other four absentee chaplains were Harold Chalmer Bell, Philip Blakeway, James Butler and Herbert Wesley, none of whom had any past connections with the diocese. However both Blakeway and Dennis were incumbents in Battersea and hence geographically they were close to their battalions in Knightsbridge and Walham Green respectively.

The number of chaplains by January 1910 was in the mid-twenties, a substantial reduction from the 1901 levels.¹²⁵ The number of absentee chaplains had also reduced to four. Harold Bell, Blakeway and Sheppard, who had been absentees in 1901, had retained their positions within the battalions and, although the names had changed to reflect the introduction of the Territorial Force, the geographical base had not. The fourth absentee chaplain was William Godfrey Bell, who had no past connection with the diocese, but whose Streatham parish within the Diocese of Southwark was not far from his Westminster battalion.

By August 1914 the number of chaplains within the diocese had increased to the mid-thirties, with a commensurate increase in absentee numbers to ten. Bearing in mind the short timeframe it is not surprising that four of these ten were the same as those in 1910.

¹²⁵ The total number may be understated as two chaplains Dennis H. W. and Hudson R. were included in the 1901 and 1914 *Army List*. In 1901 both were listed as chaplains to the 2nd (South Middlesex) Volunteer Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps based in Walham Green and in 1914 as chaplains to the 10th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own Territorial Force based in Hammersmith. However in the January 1910 *Army List* no chaplains were shown against this particular T F Battalion, nor were Dennis/Hudson included in the Index. This implied an error in the January 1910 *Army List* as it seemed unlikely that both would have left and subsequently returned to the chaplaincy. Both appointment dates for Dennis/Hudson shown in the August 1914 *List* were before 1910; a fact that seemed to prove the omission.

Therefore Harold Bell, Blakeway and Sheppard had been absentee chaplains for a minimum of fourteen years from 1901 through to 1914. Of the other six absentee chaplains some had a past connection with the diocese. Agmond Wilkinson had been a curate at St Paul Westminster from 1905 until 1911 when he took up similar duties at a parish in the diocese of Southwark, but retained his position as chaplain to a battalion in Farringdon. One unusual case was William McDonald Sinclair who had ceased to be Archdeacon of London in 1911 and had taken up new duties as an incumbent in a West Sussex parish. In 1910 he had been chaplain to the 11th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Finsbury Rifles) based in Pentonville, but by 1914, despite moving outside the diocese, he had taken up a new position as chaplain to the City of London Yeomanry Territorial Force based in Finsbury Square.

One of the other absentee chaplains in August 1914 was Herbert Hensley Henson who had been appointed Dean of Durham in 1912; prior to that date Henson had been vicar at St Margaret Westminster from 1900. Henson's interaction with the role of the army chaplain raises various questions and serves as an introduction to an analysis of the involvement of the episcopacy and the hierarchy of not only the diocese of London but the church in general with this aspect of the military-church collaboration. Whilst Henson's name was included in the August 1914 *Army List*, as army chaplain to the 15th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Civil Service Rifles) Territorial Force based at Somerset House, it did not appear in the January 1910 *Army List*; omissions from this particular source have been commented on earlier and it could be assumed that this was a further example. However according to the August 1914 *Army List* Henson's appointment date as an army chaplain was July 1910 and hence the January

1910 *Army List* was correct not to include him. Henson however had previously been an army chaplain in the 1890s, whilst he was an incumbent in Barking, and was included in the March 1891 *Army List* with the 1st Volunteer Battalion The Essex Regiment, which was based in Brentwood. By the time he was appointed to St Margaret Westminster in 1900 he had had at least ten years experience as an army chaplain and the December 1901 *Army List* indicated that he had retained his association with the battalion in Brentwood. However at some date after this and before January 1910 he relinquished his chaplain's position. If he had retained the Brentwood chaplaincy during the majority of the 1900s his non-utilisation within the diocese of London raised questions about the importance the diocese placed upon the role of the army chaplain. Similar questions are raised in the scenario that Henson relinquished his Brentwood association early in his incumbency at St Margaret Westminster and his experience as an army chaplain was not utilised within the diocese before 1910. Only two years after becoming an army chaplain again Henson was appointed to duties in Durham but retained the chaplain position based in Somerset House and became an absentee chaplain and a representative of the church's hierarchy.

Army chaplains who were also members of the episcopacy or the church's hierarchy were a common feature through the pre-1914 years. In the March 1891 *Army List* in addition to How and MacLagan, the two absentee bishops discussed above, there were a further four army chaplains who could be categorised as such: Robert Claudius Billing, who had replaced How as Bishop of Bedford, George Bradley, Dean of Westminster, Frederick Farrar, Canon at Westminster, and Henry Scott Holland, Canon at St Paul's. All four held army chaplaincies in battalions that were close geographically to their

clerical domiciles. Therefore there were three episcopal representatives, How, MacLagan and Billing who held army chaplain positions within the diocese in 1891; but there was one notable episcopal name missing, that of Frederick Temple, Bishop of London. If the diocese considered the army chaplain role as one to be encouraged as a means of engendering the association between the church and the military, surely the senior ecclesiastic within the diocese would have been involved; there were vacancies available.

By the December 1901 *Army List* there were five hierarchical representatives one of which was Bradley who had retained both his clerical and chaplaincy duties during the 1890s and in addition William Sinclair, Archdeacon of London was a chaplain. The other three all held episcopal positions within the diocese: Winnington-Ingram by then Bishop of London, Frederick Ridgeway the suffragan Bishop of Kensington and Cosmo Lang the suffragan Bishop of Stepney. Of these three, Lang had been an army chaplain since 1895 and in 1901 held the position with a battalion based in Southsea Hampshire which probably reflected his previous incumbency in Portsea. However the December 1901 *Army List* indicated that both Winnington-Ingram and Ridgeway became chaplains in that same year, the one in which they were appointed to their new episcopal duties.¹²⁶ Prior to 1901 Winnington-Ingram had been Bishop of Stepney from 1897 but during that period he had not been an army chaplain. His appointment therefore as an army chaplain within the first few months of taking up his duties as Bishop of London, together with the similar involvement of Ridgeway might highlight a change of emphasis within the diocesan hierarchy in their views on the importance of the church-military relationship. There definitely appeared to be more diocesan involvement in 1901 with three bishops within the diocese being army chaplains, although it is acknowledged that Lang had been

¹²⁶ In the same year Winnington-Ingram became a chaplain to the Royal Navy Volunteers

a chaplain previously. However it should be noted that in 1901 Charles Henry Turner, who had been appointed as the first Bishop of Islington in 1898, the other suffragan bishop within the diocese, was not an army chaplain. During the period 1897 to 1901 Mandell Creighton had been Bishop of London and his stance in respect of the importance of the army chaplain role may have reflected that of Temple

Winnington-Ingram, Ridgeway and Sinclair were all included in the January 1910 *Army List* and whilst they retained their 1901 clerical positions the battalions to which they were attached as chaplains had changed in line with the Territorial Force amendments. In addition to these there were three other hierarchical representatives. These were Christopher Childe, chaplain to the Bishop of London, Henry Edward Bevan who was Archdeacon of Middlesex and vicar at St Luke Chelsea, and possibly Edgar Sheppard who in addition to being an incumbent at an Oxfordshire parish was also a Canon of Windsor. Lang had been appointed Archbishop of York in the previous year and his replacement as Bishop of Stepney was Henry Luke Paget. In 1901 Paget, as vicar of St Pancras parish church, had been chaplain to the 17th (North Middlesex) Volunteer Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own based in Camden. Paget was appointed Bishop of Ipswich in 1906 a position he held until 1909 when he returned to the diocese of London as Lang's replacement. However he did not return to his old position as an army chaplain. In addition Turner continued as Bishop of Islington and was still not a chaplain. Therefore by 1910 there were only two episcopal representatives from the diocese who were army chaplains.

On the eve of the outbreak of war there were six hierarchical clergy listed in the August 1914 *Army List*. One of these was Henson, Dean of Durham, who was discussed

earlier under the absentee chaplains. The other five included Bevan who was still Archdeacon of Middlesex as well as vicar at St Luke Chelsea, and changes from 1910 were: Graham Bartholomew Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Ernest Harold Pearce and Herbert Edward Ryle, canon and dean respectively of Westminster. The only diocesan episcopal representative was Winnington-Ingram; none of the suffragan bishops were listed. In 1911 Ridgeway had been appointed Bishop of Salisbury and he was replaced by John Primatt Maud as Bishop of Kensington. Maud was not included in the August 1914 *Army List* as an army chaplain and Ridgeway in his new position at Salisbury was no longer an army chaplain. Neither Turner at Islington nor Paget at Stepney had become army chaplains since 1910. William Willcox Perrin was appointed as the first Bishop of Willesden in 1911 and again his name did not appear as an army chaplain in the August 1914 *Army List*.

Therefore to summarise the diocesan episcopal involvement with the army chaplains; neither of Winnington-Ingram's predecessors was an army chaplain and nor was he until his appointment as Bishop of London in 1901. Initially his and Ridgeway's appointments as chaplains appear to instigate a changed emphasis, but Turner, the other suffragan bishop in 1901 was not involved as an army chaplain throughout the period. However by 1914 none of the new suffragan bishops were army chaplains and surely if Winnington-Ingram had 'assiduously cultivated' the 'links between the Church of England and the Territorial Force in the capital' he would have ensured that they, his diocesan spiritual and administrative lieutenants, would have utilised this traditional path of military and church association.¹²⁷ An affirmation of such an association was particularly important in

¹²⁷ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 164; referencing A. Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, p. 35-36.

view of the recent changes to the army's structure through the formation of the Territorial Force. If considered important enough, opportunities existed for diocesan clergy to be appointed as army chaplains with the military battalions based within the diocese. There were Territorial Force battalions in August 1914 that had no army chaplain; the 2nd and 3rd County of London Yeomanry Territorial Force, based in Westminster and St John's Wood respectively, being examples. Alternatively the number of chaplains at other battalions could be increased to the levels seen in 1901. In addition the various absentee chaplains, many of whom held their position for many years, an example being Harold Chalmer Bell from at least 1901 though to 1914, could be replaced by diocesan clergy. The army chaplain role was a practical and visible means of engendering a connection both at hierarchical and local level between the diocese and the local military. The development of the clergy involvement as army chaplains in the pre-war years within the diocese does not reflect a commitment to the military-church structure, nor to an inter-relationship that was generally 'assiduously cultivated.' Either Winnington-Ingram was not as committed to the military as suggested by some, who may have read his wartime pronouncements as being a reflection of his pre-war mindset, or he was unable or unwilling to embed his commitment to the military throughout the diocese and in particular, in this instance, amongst other representatives of the diocesan hierarchy.¹²⁸

There were obviously elements within the army chaplains that did reflect a local parish connection with the military. In March 1891 William Cadman was vicar of Holy Trinity Marylebone and chaplain to a battalion based in nearby Albany Street Regent's Park. At the same date Edward Carr Glyn was vicar of St Mary Abbots Kensington and

¹²⁸ See McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 99, for a comment on Winnington-Ingram and his pre-war position.

chaplain to a battalion based in High Street Kensington, and in the suburbs further west Henry Pelham Stokes was vicar of All Saints Isleworth and chaplain to a battalion based in neighbouring Hounslow. Others had more distance between their local pulpit and the battalion; Robinson Duckworth was vicar at St Mark Maida Vale and chaplain to a battalion based on the banks of the Thames at Somerset House. By March 1901 one example of a local connection was David Anderson, the vicar at St George Hanover Square, who was chaplain to a battalion whose sobriquet was the 'Victoria and St George's', based close by in Berkeley Square. Further to the east Henry Alfred Mason was vicar at St Stephen Bow and chaplain to a battalion based at nearby Tredegar Road Bow. There were also examples of a substantial distance between the parish and the barrack room; Leonard Shelford was a curate at Holy Trinity Chelsea and chaplain to a battalion based in Clapton.¹²⁹ These trends continued after the changes brought about by the introduction of the Territorial Force. In January 1910 Brook Deedes was vicar at St John Hampstead and chaplain to a battalion also based in Hampstead, whilst Francis Thicknesse was vicar of St Mary Hornsey and chaplain to a battalion also based in that locality.¹³⁰ By 1910 there were not as many instances of a vicar with a substantial distance between the pulpit and the parade ground. The August 1914 *Army List* showed similar trends. Robert Henry Sinclair was vicar of St Anselm Berkeley Square and chaplain to a battalion based in the same area, and William Rathmell Ogle was vicar of St Michael Highgate and chaplain to a battalion based in neighbouring Hornsey. An example of a more distant relationship was Basil Bouchier, vicar of St Jude Hampstead, who was army chaplain to a battalion based in the City Road. It is noticeable that, in 1910

¹²⁹ Shelford's connection with Clapton probably related to his curacy at St John Hackney from 1896 until taking up his new duties as curate of Holy Trinity Chelsea in 1899.

¹³⁰ Deedes was by 1913 a member of the NSL and was discussed in chapter 4.

and 1914, where a diocesan clergyman was also a chaplain there were fewer examples of a substantial distance between the parish and the army base. Whether this was a specific structured development or one that was driven by the change from Volunteers to Territorial Forces is unclear, but as there was little actual movement in the geographical positioning of the army within the diocese after the introduction of the Territorial Force perhaps this was planned.

Clergy from the education sector, in particular the public schools, were also army chaplains. In March 1891 William Done Bushell, assistant master at Harrow, was chaplain with the local Volunteer battalion.¹³¹ By December 1901 there were three representatives of the education sector; Bushell was by then chaplain at Harrow and, despite the 5th (West Middlesex) Volunteer Battalion having moved from Harrow to Regent's Park, he had retained his position as chaplain. In addition to him, Charles George Gull, headmaster of Grocers' School Hackney was chaplain to a battalion based in Bunhill Row in the City, and Robert Hudson, principal of St Mark's College Chelsea, was chaplain to a battalion based in Fulham.¹³² Hudson was one of the names highlighted earlier in this chapter whose omission from the January 1910 *Army List* raised questions as to the reliability of that as source material, however by August 1914 he was the only representative from the educational sector and was chaplain to a Territorial Force battalion based in Hammersmith.

In those instances where there was a local parish incumbent, who was an army chaplain, it would not be unreasonable to assume that he would have tried to ensure that

¹³¹ Bushell was by 1913 a member of the NSL and was discussed in chapter 4.

¹³² Gull was also listed as a vice-president of the NSL in 1908. St Mark's College was opened in 1841 as a training establishment for teachers under the auspices of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor – its curriculum included military elements.

the values and benefits of the military were expounded in his parish. One means of doing this would have been through the youth organisations, and there were examples of this. Joseph Cullin, vicar at St Matthew Upper Clapton from 1892 until his retirement in 1904 was army chaplain to a Volunteer battalion in nearby Islington and his parish had registered an LDCLB in 1895 that was still in existence when he retired.¹³³ John Fenwick Kitto, vicar at St Martins in the Fields Trafalgar Square throughout the 1890s, was also army chaplain to a local battalion during the same period. The St Martins in the Fields' LDCLB was registered early in 1893. A further example was Somerset Edward Pennefather, who was appointed vicar at St Mary Abbots Kensington in 1897 and at the same time became army chaplain to a Kensington based Volunteer battalion. He still held both these positions in 1914, although by then the battalion was with the Territorial Force. Soon after taking up his appointment at the parish an LDCLB was registered in November 1898, and was mentioned in the 1905 Completed Articles of Enquiry.¹³⁴ One final example was Henry George Bird, vicar at St Andrew Hillingdon between 1891 and 1913 after which date he left the diocese. During his time at St Andrew a LDCLB was registered in 1892 and it was also in existence both in 1905 and 1912.¹³⁵ By 1901 Bird was chaplain to a Volunteer battalion based in Hounslow and retained this position upon its change to a Territorial Force battalion.

However there were at least as many instances where, despite the association with the army, the military culture of the youth organisations was not transferred to the parish. One interesting example was Edward Carr Glyn, who was Pennefather's predecessor,

¹³³ LMA, P79/MTW/44-46, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Service Papers 1895-1909.

¹³⁴ GMS, 17885 xx-1.

¹³⁵ GMS, 17885, xxiv-8; The Territorial Force Association of the County of Middlesex First Annual Report 1912.

both as vicar and army chaplain, but during his years at St Mary Abbots there was no brigade activity.¹³⁶ Two other examples were Benjamin Seymour Tupholme and Peter Brownwell Drabble, who in 1901 were army chaplains to the same Volunteer battalion as Bird. Tupholme was vicar at Stephen Hounslow from 1876 until his retirement in 1907, a parish that had no brigade activity during that period; whilst Drabble was vicar at Holy Trinity Twickenham between 1891 and 1904, during that period there was no brigade involvement at the parish; he subsequently left the diocese. There were other instances of non-involvement in the brigade movement by local parish clergy who were army chaplains. In 1901 Denton Jones was chaplain to a battalion based in Hornsey, having been vicar at the local parish of All Hallows Tottenham since 1898; there is no archival record of any brigade activity at this parish.¹³⁷ Albert Hunns was chaplain to a battalion based in Fulham Road, in both 1910 and 1914, and was vicar at St Michael Paddington from 1905. There was no brigade activity at the parish and it was only in July 1914 that reference was made to the fact that 'a troop of boy scouts has been started'.¹³⁸ Two further examples are Henry Must and William Selwyn. In 1914 Must was chaplain to a battalion based in Pentonville having held the position of vicar at St David West Holloway since 1904; a parish with no brigade or scout involvement. In the same year Selwyn was chaplain to a battalion based in Chelsea and had been vicar at St Simon Upper Chelsea since 1908; St Simon was a parish with no brigade or scout activity.

As with other aspects of the pre-war diocese of London the possibilities and potential for the army chaplain to engender and develop the relationship between the church and

¹³⁶ Upon leaving St Mary Abbots Glyn was appointed Bishop of Peterborough and in the 1913 NSL Annual Report he was listed as a member of the Northamptonshire branch of the NSL.

¹³⁷ It is not included in the 1900 Handbook in respect of the LDCLB.

¹³⁸ LMA, P87/MAA/38, St Michaels and All Angels Paddington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jul).

the army at a local parish level seem to have had little priority. Whilst acknowledging that in many respects the army chaplain role was hierarchical in nature and reflected the higher echelons of both organisations, it did offer an opportunity for a closer association at parish level. Throughout the period the number of chaplains who were either representatives of the church's hierarchy, or were 'absentee', reflected a failure to develop this opportunity. Conversely the importance that the diocese placed upon the church-military association appeared to be low on the eve of the outbreak of war from the fact that there was only one episcopal representative from within the diocese; none of the suffragan bishops being chaplains. None of these developments would describe a diocese that was fervent and organised in its cultivation of a dynamic and effective church-army relationship. The number of chaplains who were local clergy but who did not utilise their military experience and association, by introducing brigades and scouts into their diocesan parishes, also implied that fostering a military relationship within the diocese at a local parish level was not considered a high priority.

One final poignant measure of the impact of militarism within the diocese in the years before the First World War might be gleaned from the 1914-18 Book of Remembrance of St Saviour Hampstead which contains the names of the 50 parishioners who were killed during the war.¹³⁹ The book was very well produced and gives the impression, as would be expected in the years immediately following the war, of having been prepared with great care as to its accuracy and detail. Each name has its own page with, in the majority of cases, a photograph and a summary of their life and details of their death either provided by a close relative or where this is not available by the parish

¹³⁹ LMA, P81/SAV/157, St Saviour Hampstead, Book of Remembrance 1914-18.

clergy. It gives an insight on an individual basis into certain of the themes discussed in this thesis, and is a microcosm of all the texts of remembrance

There were obviously volunteers from the parish in August 1914, although whether these were early or later in the month is not known. Three of the names, Percy Cockerton, Robert fFinden Davies and Walter Ernest Peeke enlisted in August 1914, and the entry for Charles Albert Reeve, included the comment that he was the 'first territorial to be killed'. The vast majority of the 50 listed were born within Hampstead, which highlights that demographic change was not as prevalent in this area as it was in other parts of the diocese. Most of the 50 were also born in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and were therefore of an age that would have meant that a range of youth organisations were available to them, if they had wished to join. Four had been educated outside of Hampstead at public schools and hence would have been potentially subject to the cadet movement. Locally the parish of St Saviour had an LDCLB from 1893 that was regularly mentioned in parish magazines through to 1914, and by 1912 the brigade was part of the Middlesex Cadet Units. Hence throughout the pre-war period, when the majority of those listed would for some period have been 'lads' there was the opportunity to join a youth organisation. However of the 50 parishioners listed only five had been involved with the LDCLB. The five names include that of Peeke who was born in 1889. The other four were; William Henry Dixon born 1898, George Henry Lancaster born 1898, Victor Charles Wilson born 1896, and Alan Archibald McKirchan, noted as a captain in the LDCLB, but whose date of birth was not shown. Five out of fifty seems a low proportion.

There are other Books of Remembrance and War Memorials where the proportion was much higher. At St Nicholas church in Durham for instance, Wolffe comments that

out 'of 59 men named [...] 28 had been members of the First Durham Boys' Brigade'.¹⁴⁰ There may be many reasons for this difference in proportion, one of which could be the lottery of survival caused by the sheer indiscriminate nature of the battlefield. However the Hampstead figures do add to the questions as to the nature of the relationship between the lamb and the warrior in the pre-war diocese of London.

It is a reminder of the less than fifty percent of parishes within the diocese that were involved with the various youth organisations. Of those that were involved many saw substantial fluctuations in membership levels, particularly of the LDCLB, and many only managed to maintain a brigade or troop for a short period. Financial support both from within the local parish and the diocese in general was lacking in many instances. A similar trend was seen in the lack of involvement at officer level within the local parishes; a problem that could have been administered better if the LDCWYM had been an effective central administrative organisation. The failure to effectively utilise experienced clergy to spread the brigade and troop ethos raises questions as to the priority the hierarchy of the diocese placed upon the dissemination of the youth movements. This failure to propagate the brigades and troops into those non-participating areas of the diocese was reflected in the waste of the opportunities presented through the direct involvement of the army chaplains with the military presence in the diocese.

¹⁴⁰ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 230.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The previous chapters have raised questions as to whether the comments about the state of the churches within England pre-1914 were apposite when compared with the actualities within the diocese of London. The levels of support seen in the diocese must give rise to questions about Snape's assertion that youth organisations were 'only symptomatic of a much broader culture of militarism which was current among Britain's churches [...] at the beginning of the 20th century'.¹ Perhaps a 'broader culture of militarism' within the diocese would have resulted in higher numbers of parishes participating in the LDCLB and the LDBS, and a more proactive and effective central administration. The membership levels are not consistent with Beckett's comment that 'it is possible that as many as 41% of all male adolescents may have belonged to some form of youth organisation by 1914'.² If this level of membership had been common in the two decades preceding 1914, both logic and statistics would expect to have seen a higher proportion of past LDCLB members listed in the St Saviour Hampstead Book of Remembrance. These facts also question Summers's assertion that militarism was 'integral to much of Anglican [...] Christianity'.³ In addition neither Anderson's comment that 'Christian militarism [...] flourished so strikingly in Britain by the turn of the century' nor Honaker's contention that the late nineteenth century 'saw the

¹ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 161.

² Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms 1914-1918', p. 5.

³ Summers, 'Militarism in Britain', p. 105.

militarization of Christianity' are supported by the actualities of the pre-war diocese of London.⁴

There are those who have perceived an increase in militarism after the turn of the century. Helke Rausch considers this to have been symbolised by the unveiling of the Duke of Cambridge's statue in 1907, which was 'highly military in nature', compared with the 'modest unveiling of the Gordon statue' in 1888.⁵ Undoubtedly the lessons of the Boer War with its message, amongst others, of an unfit, untrained male population had an influence upon the development of the conscription movement and the NSL. In addition the growth of the invasion scares of the Edwardian age not only reflected this change of emphasis but also added fuel to the fire. The timing of this change was by chance mirrored in the appointment of Winnington-Ingram as Bishop of London. Because of the crusading language utilised by Winnington-Ingram during the war years some commentators have argued that his 'famous recruiting-sermons, in which he declared that the United Kingdom was engaged in a 'Holy War'' were 'largely repeating things that he had always believed'.⁶ His pre-war utilisation of the linguistics and themes associated with the concept of the 'stand' and the chivalric watchman might support this argument. In this view, the pre-war diocese of London was led by a hard-line pro-militarist, and as such it would be anticipated that the diocese generally would reflect its bishop's views. However the trends and themes highlighted above would imply that this was not the case. Looking at the LDCLB there is no doubt that the number of companies increased over the turn of the century; but this was also the case with the CLB, and the assumed impetus in

⁴ Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism', p. 46; Honaker, 'One Man to Rely on', p. 31.

⁵ Helke Rausch, 'The Nation as a Community Born of War' Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues in Late 19th Century Western European Capitals', *European Review of History*, Vol. 14 No. 1 (Mar 2007), 73-101 (p. 87).

⁶ McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p. 99.

both instances was the Boer War. Numbers and membership levels then steadied during the 1900s. Whilst 'invasion games' took place in the years before 1914, many of these were more a means of countering the threat of the appeal of the non-denominational scout, as opposed to the predatory German. There was no evidence of improved finance, nor support from either the local clergy or laity generally or specifically in respect of officer recruitment. The development of the LDBS, in response to scouting and the BPBS in particular, was short lived and initially did little more than highlight the inadequacies of the central diocesan administration. Within a short period the assimilation of the two organisations meant inevitably that the larger BPBS became the dominant force.

Whilst Winnington-Ingram became both an army and navy chaplain upon his appointment as bishop, by August 1914 none of his suffragan bishops were chaplains. Surely a bellicose bishop would have ensured that his most senior clergy were installed in these positions if the army-church relationship was considered a priority. Also if the relationship was important the utilisation of local clergy at the expense of 'absentee' chaplains would have been more common. Similar questions are raised by the lack of clerical support, particularly at hierarchical level, within the diocese for the NSL. Neither Winnington-Ingram, nor his suffragan bishops were involved and whilst other clergy were involved at a local level, the numbers were small and their influence upon the organisation would have been minimal. All this implies that Winnington-Ingram's militarism came more to the fore after the outbreak of hostilities, the only other views could be that he was ineffective in, or unwilling to, engender a more military outlook throughout the clergy and the laity of the diocese.

Perhaps the above evidence of the limits to militarism present within the pre-war diocese was also reflected in the secular environment. The failure of both the regular army and the Territorial Force to meet establishment levels, both within the nation generally and also within London, must raise questions as to the levels of militarism within society as a whole. The low numbers involved in the NSL, and the delay in incorporation of the London and Middlesex branches, raise similar questions. The re-assessment of the 'rush to the colours' in the early days of autumn tells its own story.

There is no doubting that there were elements of militarism both within the church and the diocese. The educational sector, particularly that of the public schools was to the fore in the development of the OTC and its Territorial Force association, and this was supported by the LDCLB. There was also an element that had both the duality of the lamb and the warrior, an example of this was Burge, Bishop of Southwark who was both a member of the Church of England Peace League and an army chaplain and who was discussed in chapter two. However this particular duality may be more due to the traditional role of the army chaplain, than any specific pre-war militarism. Gore and Lang showed another aspect of this duality, when they, whilst being army chaplains, also, as discussed in chapter 5, had voiced concerns at the May 1911 Bishops' Meeting in respect of the proposed association of the CLB with the Territorial Force. The dichotomy and duality present in these examples encapsulated the relationship between the lamb and the warrior in the pre-war diocese of London. Surridge argues that the Church of England 'in response to a perceived lack of faith and falling attendances utilized the popularity of the army and military imagery to attract new members'; in the case of the diocese of London

this claim would appear to be unproven.⁷ There is sufficient evidence in the responses of both the clergy and the laity in the parishes, and in the actions of the hierarchy to question the assumption that militarism was fostered and gained a substantial foothold both in the clergy and the laity within the diocese. Howard's description of pre-1914 England in general, is also appropriate to the diocese of London, in that whilst it 'was conscious of the need for the martial virtues and spasmodic efforts were made to inculcate them', the diocese 'can not be called a militaristic society'.⁸

⁷ Surridge, 'More than a Great Poster', p. 306.

⁸ Howard, 'Empire, Race and War', p. 10.

APPENDIX 1		
	ARCHDEACONRY OF LONDON (Number of parishes in 1901)	
RURAL DEANERY	METROPOLITAN BOROUGH	URBAN/RURAL DISTRICT
East City (23)	City of London (not technically a MB)	
West City (29)	City of London	
Bethnal Green (14)	Bethnal Green	
Enfield (17)		Enfield Southgate Edmonton
Finsbury (15)	Finsbury	
Hackney and Stoke Newington (29)	Hackney Stoke Newington	
Holborn (12)	Holborn	
Islington (40)	Islington	
Poplar (17)	Poplar	
Shoreditch (21)	Shoreditch	
Stepney (32)	Stepney	
Tottenham (10)		Tottenham Wood Green

	ARCHDEACONRY OF MIDDLESEX (Number of parishes in 1901)	
RURAL DEANERY	METROPOLITAN BOROUGH	URBAN/RURAL DISTRICT
Chelsea (9)	Chelsea	
Ealing (28)		Ealing Southall Acton Brentford Heston & Isleworth
Fulham (13)	Fulham	
Hammersmith (17)	Hammersmith	Chiswick
Hampstead (19)	Hampstead	Hendon
Hampton (22)		Hampton Staines Sunbury-on-Thames Twickenham
Hornsey (23)		Hornsey Finchley Friern Barnet East Barnet Barnet South Mimms
Kensington (28)	Kensington	
Paddington (20)	Paddington	
Saint Marylebone (22)	St Marylebone	
Saint Pancras (30)	St Pancras	
Uxbridge (13)		Uxbridge Hayes & Harlington Ruislip Yiewsley & West Drayton
Westminster (36)	Westminster	
Willesden (23)		Willesden Wembley Harrow Northwood

APPENDIX 2

Recipients Christ Church Lancaster Gate 'Poor Parishes Aid Fund'⁹

Parish	Rural Deanery	1892	1896	1906	1914
St Andrew Harrow Road	Kensington	*	*		
St Stephen Spitalfields	Stepney	*	*		
St Michael Stonebridge	Willesden	*			
St Luke Victoria Docks	Poplar	*	*	*	*
St Mary Haggerston	Shoreditch	*	*		
St Peter Bethnal Green	Bethnal Green	*	*		
St Mary Paddington Green	Paddington	*	*		*
St Mary Somers Town	St Pancras	*	*	*	
All Saints Mile End	Stepney	*	*		
St Gabriel South Bromley	Poplar	*	*	*	
St Michael Islington	Islington	*			
St Clement North Kensington	Kensington	*			
St Barnabas Homerton	Hackney & Stoke Newington	*	*	*	
St Thomas Bethnal Green	Bethnal Green	*	*	*	
St Andrew West Kensington	Fulham	*			
St John Kensal Green	Paddington	*			
St Thomas Kensal Town	Kensington	*	*		
St Jude Grays Inn Road	St Pancras	*	*		
All Saints Islington	Islington	*	*	*	
St Augustine Victoria Park	Hackney & Stoke Newington	*	*		
St Matthew Lisson Grove	St Marylebone	*			
All Souls Clapton Park	Hackney & Stoke Newington		*	*	
St Paul Paddington	Paddington		*		
St Bartholomew Bethnal Green	Bethnal Green		*		
St James Hampstead Road	St Marylebone		*	*	
St Saviour Hoxton	Shoreditch		*		
Christ Church Clapton	Hackney & Stoke Newington		*		
Christ Church Somers Town	St Pancras		*		
St Matthew Willesden	Willesden		*	*	*
St Etheldreda Fulham	Fulham		*		
St Peter Paddington	Paddington		*		
St Matthew Marylebone	St Marylebone		*		
St Silas Kentish Town	St Pancras			*	
St James-the-Great Bethnal Green	Bethnal Green			*	
St Alban Fulham	Fulham			*	
Holy Trinity Stepney	Stepney			*	*
St John Isle of Dogs	Poplar			*	
St John Edmonton	Enfield			*	
St Steven Shepherds Bush	Hammersmith			*	*
St Jude Kensal Green	Paddington			*	*
St Jude Bethnal Green	Bethnal Green			*	
St Saviour Poplar	Poplar			*	
St John Limehouse	Stepney			*	*
Emmanuel Paddington	Paddington				*
St Mary Hoxton	Shoreditch				*

⁹ LMA, P87/CTC/52, 56, 64 & 67, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parish Magazines and Parochial Reports 1892, 1896, 1906 & 1914: Rural Deaneries are shown as per the re-organisation of 1901.

APPENDIX 3

EASTER COMMUNICANTS

	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1897	1898	1899	1900	1902	1903	1906	1907	1908	1909	1912	1913	1914
EAST																		
All Saints Haggerston ¹					155	151	162	198	182	137	183	183	142	149	192	203	192	193
All Saints Islington ²				86	105	113	102	75	79	81	131	172	156	143	135	165	133	117
All Saints Stoke Newington ³						263	256	263	210	200	192	191	204					
Emmanuel Hampstead ⁴						371	346	455	510	597	602	671	723	795	696			
Holy Trinity Hampstead ⁵			401	426	517	424	297	342	387	586	584	616	631	470	501	455	445	490
St Andrew Bromley By Bow ⁶					31	70	75	106	100						141	138	136	148
St Andrew Stoke Newington ⁷						539	474	513	519	502	501	376	442	368	378	424	399	458
St Andrew Whitehall Park ⁸						297	317	326	365	361	335	330	312	309	290	320	272	303
St Augustine Haggerston ⁹		381	332						303									
St Augustine Highbury ¹⁰	276	267	218	261	252	415	360	397	329	501	559	573						
St Barnabas Homerton ¹¹														160	268	194	191	221
St Dunstan Stepney ¹²												449	496	323	502	458	420	
St Faith Stepney ¹³			120	135	180	246					231	257	260	216	268	277	268	255
St James Great Bethnal Green ¹⁴										47	63	119	92	92	109	107	114	139

¹ LMA, P91/ALL/31-33, Register of Services 1893-1914.

² LMA, P83/ALL/150-52, Register of Services 1892-1916.

³ LMA, P94/ALL/11, Register of Services 1896-1908.

⁴ LMA, P81/EMM/18-20, Register of Services 1894-1909.

⁵ LMA, P81/TRI/16-18, Register of Services 1891-1914.

⁶ LMA, P88/AND/9&11, Register of Services 1893-1900 & 1909-16 Mission church.

⁷ LMA, P94/AND/17-18, Register of Services 1893-1914.

⁸ LMA, P83/AND/15/1-16, Register of Services 1895-1917.

⁹ LMA, P91/AUG/25, Parish Magazines 1887-1905 (Jan 1892, May 1892 & Apr 1900).

¹⁰ LMA, P83/AUG/22-23, Register of Services 1888-1906.

¹¹ LMA, P79/BANI/023, Parochial Statistics 1907-23.

¹² LMA, P93/DUN/314, Register of Services 1906-13.

¹³ LMA, P93/FAI/20/1-23/1, Register of Services 1891-1914 Mission church to St Dunstan Stepney.

¹⁴ LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, Scrapbook & LMA, DRD/L3/17/1&3, Notebook Rural Deanery of Bethnal Green.

Parish	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1897	1898	1899	1900	1902	1903	1906	1907	1908	1909	1912	1913	1914
St James Less Bethnal Green ¹⁵												664	730	790	837	823	822	915
St John Upper Holloway ¹⁶			311	297	288	206	225	198	262	386	437	586	567	433	451	412	375	389
St John the Baptist Islington ¹⁷										133	158	154	139	123	146	131	102	137
St Jude Islington ¹⁸												275	231	227	260	248	267	233
St Luke Finsbury ¹⁹						271	284	275	255	273	251	248	254	222	267	260	220	
St Luke Hackney ²⁰	404					268	275	286	237	266	290	271	296	429	392			
St Matthew Bethnal Green ²¹												188	198	193	239	202	208	213
St Matthias Bethnal Green ²²												78	82	79	81	98	104	110
St Mary Hornsey Rise ²³	215	174	169	190	203	233	181	200	291	304	207	249	257	207	237			
St Mary Kilburn ²⁴		419	365	495	464	677	739	806	823	837	828	737	759	601	440	568	509	522
St Mary Primrose Hill ²⁵			350	419	395	414	390	423	342	361	373	357	382	383	368	414	359	429
St Saviour Hampstead ²⁶	288	316	282	324												254	211	
St Saviour Shoreditch Hoxton ²⁷				310	368			197	228	227	206	168	201	199	225	227	253	238
St Stephen Portland Town ²⁸									249	217	195	189	187	148	145	171	140	
St Thomas Arbour Sq Stepney ²⁹				203	162	156	206	186	141	134	143	101	104	97	114	106	90	93
St Thomas Clapton Common ³⁰	280	248	241	296	314	277	276	266	346	280	317	329						
WEST																		
Christ Church St Marylebone ³¹	371	413	439	543	653					381	343							

¹⁵ LMA, DRD/L3/17/1&3, Notebook Rural Deanery of Bethnal Green .
¹⁶ LMA, P83/JNE/50-51, Preacher's Book 1892-1918.
¹⁷ LMA, P83/JNB/17, Register of Services 1902-15.
¹⁸ LMA, P83/JUD/24, Preachers' Book 1897-1914.
¹⁹ LMA, P76/LUK/77 & 97 & 123, Preacher's Book 1894-1908 & Register of Services 1908-13 & Parish Report 1906.
²⁰ LMA, P79/LUK/14-16, Preacher's Book 1882-1911.
²¹ LMA, DRD/L3/17/1&3, Notebook Rural Deanery of Bethnal Green.
²² LMA, DRD/L3/17/1&3, Notebook Rural Deanery of Bethnal Green.
²³ LMA, P83/MRY/2/32-33, Preacher's Book 1887-1910.
²⁴ LMA, P81/MRY/40-42, Preacher's Book 1890-1914.
²⁵ LMA, P81/MRV/7-8, Register of Services 1892-1916.
²⁶ LMA, P81/SAV/20-21, Offertory Register 1888-93 & 1910-13.
²⁷ LMA, P91/SAV/37, 39-44, Register of Services 1892-95, 1898-1914.
²⁸ LMA, P81/STE/1/30-31, Register of Services 1899-1913.
²⁹ LMA, P93/TMS/48-54, Register of Preachers 1892-1914.
³⁰ LMA, P79/TMS/26, Register of Services 1889-1906.

Parish	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1897	1898	1899	1900	1902	1903	1906	1907	1908	1909	1912	1913	1914
St Alban Fulham ³²				139	194	290	257				324	412						
St Cuthbert Kensington ³³			350	399	322	420	366	369	338	324								
St John Kentish Town ³⁴	793	837	725	782	729	618	590	570	748	744	1161					445		
St John Notting Hill ³⁵						324	308	325	331	350	354	422	419					
St Luke South Kensington ³⁶						356	369	417	444	459	495	454	459	428	444	613	672	701
St Mary Boltons Kensington ³⁷					399	407	358	402	353	399	494	373	375	335	416			
St Matthew Maida Hill ³⁸												265	221	237	244	280	270	278
St Peter Hammersmith ³⁹								167	227			254	284	225	237	227	243	247
St Saviour Chelsea ⁴⁰			440	318	336	423	459	391	382	415	463					577	503	417
St Saviour Paddington ⁴¹						230	246	742	613	629								
St Simon Hammersmith ⁴²		162	180		217	189	201	287	244	266	270	295	298	272	271	261	242	283
SUBURBS																		
All Souls Harlesdon ⁴³						376	408	370	297	438	533	410	390	394	443	542		
Christ Church Brondesbury ⁴⁴				332	368	477	473	463	468	419	574	601	702	585	679			
Christ Church Crouch End ⁴⁵	193	166	185	187	198	172	280	325	326	377	356	378	429	470	536	517	440	521
Holy Trinity Southall ⁴⁶	55	57	55	78	83	57	47	49	56	90	100	155	189	175	195	241	240	286
Holy Trinity Stroud Green ⁴⁷	612	567	492	601	686							625	650	615	664			

³¹ LMA, P89/CTC/102-6, Register of Services/Preacher's Book 1890-1904.
³² LMA, P77/ALB/12-13, Register of Services 1892-98 & 1902-06 Mission church to St Andrew Fulham.
³³ LMA, P84/CUT/6, Easter Communicants Roll Book 1892-1902.
³⁴ LMA, P90/JNB/41&76, Register of Services 1883-1914 & Parish Magazine 1912 (May).
³⁵ LMA, P84/JN/123, Year Books 1880-1907.
³⁶ LMA, P84/LUK/13-14, Register of Services 1894-1923.
³⁷ LMA, P84/MRY/125-26, Register of Services 1894-1909.
³⁸ LMA, P89/MTW/14, Register of Services 1903-14.
³⁹ LMA, P80/PET/71/1, Annual Reports 1901-15.
⁴⁰ LMA, P74/SAV/34-36, Register of Services 1891-1904 & 1911-13.
⁴¹ LMA, P87/SAV/23-24, Register of Services 1896-1902 & 1909-15.
⁴² LMA, P80/SIM/19-22, Preacher's Book 1891-1918.
⁴³ LMA, DRO/89/36-39, Register of Services 1897-1912.
⁴⁴ LMA, DRO/114/18-20, Register of Services 1893-1910.
⁴⁵ LMA, DRO23/1/A2/3-5, Register of Services 1889-1916.
⁴⁶ LMA, DRO141/B/01/001-003, Register of Services 1886-1917.
⁴⁷ LMA, DRO133/B/01/001-002, Register of Services 1880-96 & 1905-10.

Parish	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1897	1898	1899	1900	1902	1903	1906	1907	1908	1909	1912	1913	1914
St Andrew Haringey ⁴⁸									75	241	326	527	581	518				
St Andrew Sudbury Harrow ⁴⁹																136	142	156
St James Great Friem Barnet ⁵⁰						81	54	80	82		34	76	97	95	112	100	98	108
St James Gunnersbury ⁵¹						162	154	173	150	166	151	161	162	149	148	117	128	
St James Hampton Hill ⁵²	166	210	186	214	330	367	368	421	388	462	465							469
St James Muswell Hill ⁵³		136	134	135	188	240	288	308	353	340	415	517	587	587	592	723	751	740
St Mary Acton ⁵⁴	568	529	570	547	535	510	517	510	566	565	592	682	682	582	603	708	630	634
St Mary Ealing ⁵⁵		372	416	493	425						480	498				544	563	511
St Mary Harefield ⁵⁶	50	62	41	44	47	42	42	31	50	34	36	52	60	90	58	83	62	66
St Mary Hayes ⁵⁷			175	191	211	228	159	185	173	126	137	146	163	168	159	204	166	
St Matthew Ashford ⁵⁸	151	161	53	93	142	158	143	108	158	211	222	334						
St Michael Enfield ⁵⁹										156	164	226	210	216	227	221		
St Michael Highgate ⁶⁰	469	456	437	430	390	350	423	447	506	454	453	538	527	466	464	462	380	
St Michael at Bowes S'Gate ⁶¹	183	288	351	349	347	395	402	422	445	470	483							
St Peter Green Hill ⁶²		198	158	163	146	159	170	166	244	243	196	378	423	504	525	352	359	
St Peter Lower Edmonton ⁶³				85	58	90	121	145	121	118	103	164						
St Peter Staines ⁶⁴	99	95	145	140		250	120	182	180	245	331	284	321	297	296	339	305	

⁴⁸ LMA, DR0/121/013, Register of Services 1899-1908.
⁴⁹ LMA, DR0/124/10, Register of Services 1910-19 Mission church to St Mary Harrow on the Hill.

⁵⁰ LMA, DR012/1/A3/1A-2, Register of Services 1895-1914.

⁵¹ LMA, DR0/077/11-12, Preacher's Book 1896-1913.

⁵² LMA, DR0/83/26-27 & 29, Register of Services 1896-1903 & 1913-20.

⁵³ LMA, DR049/32-35, Register of Services 1891-1917.

⁵⁴ LMA, DR052/47-50, Register of Services 1888-1917.

⁵⁵ LMA, DR0/037/A3/11-12 & 15 & 17, Register of Services 1891-96 & 1903-06 & 1909-15.

⁵⁶ LMA, DR0/080/A03/03-05, Register of Services 1890-27.

⁵⁷ LMA, DR0/047/A4/1-3, Register of Services 1891-1913.

⁵⁸ LMA, DR078/14-15, Register of Services 1887-1906.

⁵⁹ LMA, DR091/14, Register of Services 1902-12.

⁶⁰ LMA, P90/MIC1/33-34, Register of Services 1881-1914.

⁶¹ LMA, DR0/70/219-371, Parish Magazines 1891-1914 (Feb 1903, 04, 05 & 06).

⁶² LMA, DR0/96/20-21, Register of Services 1890-1914.

⁶³ LMA, DR0/61/23/1, Register of Services 1892-1906.

⁶⁴ LMA, DR0/41/A/3/1-2, Register of Services 1889-1902 & Offertory Register 1904-07 – List of Easter Communicants on back page.

APPENDIX 4

DIOCESE OF LONDON PARISHES WITH LDCLB AND LDDBS/OTHER SCOUT TROOPS

Deanery ¹	Parish	LDCLB Dates ²	LDDBS Dates ³	B-P/Other Scout Dates
Bethnal Green	St Andrew	1903, 1905		
Bethnal Green	St Bartholomew	1905		
Bethnal Green	St James the Great	1903		1913 ⁴
Bethnal Green	St James the Less	1898-1900, 1903		
Bethnal Green	St John	1903		
Bethnal Green	St Jude	1893-97 ⁵	1911-14	
Bethnal Green	St Matthew	1909 ⁶	1909-14	
Bethnal Green	St Matthias	1898-1900, 1903		
Bethnal Green	St Paul	1896-1900	1913-14	
Bethnal Green	St Philip	1899-1900, 1903, 1905, 1914 ⁷		
Bethnal Green	St Simon Zelotes	1896-1900, 1902, ⁸ 1905		1913 ⁹
Bethnal Green	St Thomas	1905		
Poplar	St Mary/St Leonard Bromley	1896-1900, 1905		
Poplar	St Andrew Bromley	1896-1900, 1905		
Poplar	All Hallows East India Docks	1894-1900, 1903		
Poplar	St Luke Millwall	1903, 1905		
Poplar	St Matthias Poplar		1911-14	
Poplar	St Stephen Old Ford	1892, 1896-1900, 1902 ¹⁰ , 1903, 1905		
Poplar	St Mark Old Ford	1896-1900	1911-14	
Poplar	All Saints Poplar	1896-1900, 1903, 1905	1909-14	
Poplar	St John Poplar	1897-1900, 1903		
Poplar	Christ Church Poplar	1905		
Poplar	St Stephen Poplar	1892		
Stepney	St George in the East	1905		
Stepney	St Thomas Arbour Square	1899-1900	1912-14	
Stepney	St Anne Limehouse	1899-1900, 1905		
Stepney	St Peter London dock	1905		
Stepney	All Saints Mile End	1896-1900, 1903, 1905		
Stepney	Holy trinity Mile End	1903, 1905		
Stepney	St Dunstan Stepney	1903		

Stepney	Christ Church Stepney	1913 ¹¹			
Stepney	St Anthony Globe Road				1913 ¹²
Stepney	St Benet Stepney	1905			
Stepney	St Matthew Stepney			1914	
Stepney	St Paul Stepney	1903			
Stepney	Christ Church Spitalfields			1911-14	
Stepney	St Mary Spitalfields	1899-1900			
Stepney	St Stephen Spitalfields	1892			
Stepney	St Mary Whitechapel	1892-1900			
Stepney	St Mark Whitechapel	1903		1912-14	
Shoreditch	All Saints Haggerston	1913 ¹³			
Shoreditch	St Augustine Haggerston	1892-1900, 1903-04, 1912 ¹⁴			
Shoreditch	St Columba Haggerston	1905-1910 ¹⁵			1910-11 ¹⁶
Shoreditch	St Paul Haggerston	1895-1900, 1903-04 ¹⁷			
Shoreditch	Christ Church Hoxton	1905			
Shoreditch	Holy Trinity Hoxton	1895-1900, 1902-14 ¹⁸			1910, 1912 ¹⁹
Shoreditch	St Andrew Hoxton	1905			
Shoreditch	St John Hoxton	1899-1900, 1903			
Shoreditch	St Saviour Hoxton				1911-14 ²⁰
Shoreditch	St Mark Old Street	1903			
Shoreditch	St Leonard Shoreditch			1911-14	
Shoreditch	St Michael Shoreditch	1898-1900			
Hackney & S.N	St John Brownwood Park	1899-1900		1911-14	
Hackney & S.N	All Saints Clapton Park	1898-1900			
Hackney & S.N	All Souls Clapton Park	1897, 1903-04 ²¹			
Hackney & S.N	St Matthew Upper Clapton	1895-1900, 1902-05, 1911-14 ²²			1909-10 ²³
Hackney & S.N	Holy Trinity Dalston	1897-1900			
Hackney & S.N	St Mark Dalston	1898-1900, 1903, 1905			
Hackney & S.N	St John Church Street Hackney			1911-14	
Hackney & S.N	St Augustine South Hackney			1913-14	
Hackney & S.N	St Augustine South Hackney	1892-1900, 1903			
Hackney & S.N	St John South Hackney	1895-1904 ²⁴			
Hackney & S.N	St Barnabas Hornerton	1910-14 ²⁵		1910-14	
Hackney & S.N	St Luke Hornerton	1892, 1897-1900		1910-14	
Hackney & S.N	St Thomas Stamford Hill	1899-1900, 1902-03, 1907 ²⁶		1913-14	

Hackney & S.N	St Michael Stoke Newington	1893-1900		
Hackney & S.N	St Mary Stoke Newington		1909-14	
Hackney & S.N	St Faith Stoke Newington	1904-05 ⁷⁷		
Holborn	St Giles in the Fields	1892-1900		
Holborn	Holy Trinity Grays Inn Road	1892		
Holborn	St John Red Lion Square		1909-14	
Holborn	Holy Trinity Lincoln Inn Fields	1899-1900, 1903, 1910-13 ²⁸	1909-14	
City	All Hallows Barking		1910 ²⁹	
City	St Catherine Coleman	1892		
City	Christ Church	1892		
City	St Bartholomew the Great	1905		
City	St Botolph w/out Aldersgate	1896-1900, 1905		
City	St Mary Aldermanbury	1896 ³⁰		
City	St Nicholas		1913 ³¹	
City	St Stephen Coleman Street	1894-1900, 1905		
Hampstead	St Peter Belsize Park	1897-1900		
Hampstead	St Peter Cricklewood	1912	1913-14	
Hampstead	St Michael Cricklewood	1907-12 ³²		
Hampstead	St John Hampstead	1896-1900, 1903, 1905, 1912		
Hampstead	Christ Church Hampstead	1897-1900, 1903, 1912		
Hampstead	St Paul Hampstead	1903, 1905		
Hampstead	St Stephen Hampstead	1906-14 ³³		
Hampstead	Emmanuel Hampstead	1896-1900, 1914 ³⁴		
Hampstead	St Saviour Hampstead	1893-1914 ³⁵		
Hampstead	St James Hampstead	1895-1900		
Hampstead	Holy Trinity Hampstead	1912-13 ³⁶		
Hampstead	St Mary Hendon	1907, 1912-13 ³⁷	1911-14	
Hampstead	St Mary Kilburn	1897-1900, 1912-13 ³⁸		
Hampstead	St Paul Mill Hill		1912 ³⁹	
Hampstead	St Mary Primrose Hill	1897-1900, 1903		
Islington	St Paul Balls Pond Canonbury	1907-14 ⁴⁰		
Islington	St Clement Barnsbury	1903	1913-14	
Islington	St Thomas Finsbury Park		1911-14	
Islington	Christ Church Highbury	1903	1910-14	
Islington	St John Highbury Vale	1894-1900, 1903	1910-14	

Islington	St Barnabas Hornsey Road	1892			
Islington	St Mary Upper Street Islington	1895-1900, 1903		1912-14	
Islington	All Saints Islington	1903			
Islington	Holy Trinity Cloudsley Sq Islington			1909-14	
Islington	St Andrew Islington	1899-1900			
Islington	St Matthew Islington	1903			
Islington	St Peter Islington	1900			
Islington	St Jude Mildmay Park			1911-14	
Islington	St Silas Pentonville	1897-1900			
Islington	St Anne Tollington Park	1903			
Islington	St Mark Tollington Park	1901, 1904, 1907-11 ⁴¹			
Islington	St Saviour Tollington Park	1892, 1901 ⁴²		1909-14	
Islington	All Saints Upper Holloway	1901, ⁴³ 1905			
Islington	St John Upper Holloway	1901-04 ⁴⁴			1914 ⁴⁵
Islington	St Peter Dartmouth Park Hill				1911-14 ⁴⁶
Islington	St Luke West Holloway	1899-1902, 1906-09, 1913-14 ⁴⁷			1909-14 ⁴⁸
St Pancras	St Pancras Euston Road	1892, 1898-1900		1910-14	
St Pancras	St Mary Brookfield	1897-1900			
St Pancras	St Jude Grays Inn Road	1899-1900, 1905			
St Pancras	Holy Trinity Haverstock Hill	1895-1900, 1903, 1907 ⁴⁹			
St Pancras	St Andrew Haverstock Hill	1894-1900, 1905			
St Pancras	St Ann Highgate Rise Brookfield	1905, 1911-12 ⁵⁰			
St Pancras	St John Kentish Town	1905, 1911-14 ⁵¹			
St Pancras	St Martin Kentish Town	1899-1901		1910-14	
St Pancras	St Silas Kentish Town	1905		1912-14	
St Pancras	St Luke New Kentish Town			1911 ⁵²	
St Pancras	St Peter Regent Square			1913-14	
St Pancras	St Pancras Old Church	1909 ⁵³			
St Pancras	St Mary St Pancras	1892-1900, 1913-14 ⁵⁴			
St Pancras	St John Fitzroy Square	1911 ⁵⁵			
St Pancras	St Mary Somers Town	1898-1900			
Finsbury	St Clement City Road	1894-1900			
Finsbury	St Paul Burnhill Row	1892-1900, 1903, 1905			
Finsbury	St James Clerkenwell	1895-1900			
Finsbury	Holy Redeemer Clerkenwell			1912-14	

Finsbury	St Paul Clerkenwell	1892			
Finsbury	St Peter Clerkenwell	1892			
St Marylebone	St Marylebone Parish Church	1899-1900			
St Marylebone	St Paul Lisson Grove				1914 ⁵⁶
St Marylebone	Emmanuel Maida Hill	1903, 1905			
St Marylebone	All Saints St John's Wood	1897-1900			
St Marylebone	All Souls Langham Place	1901, 1905, 1908 ⁵⁷			1908 ⁵⁸
St Marylebone	Christ Church St Marylebone	1897 ⁵⁹			
St Marylebone	Holy Trinity St Marylebone	1892-1903 ⁶⁰			
St Marylebone	St Andrew St Marylebone	1905			
St Marylebone	St Cyprian Dorset Square		1910 ⁶¹		
St Marylebone	St Mark Upper Hamilton Terrace	1894-1900, 1903, 1905			
St Marylebone	St Mary Bryanston Square	1892			
St Marylebone	St Matthew Maida Hill	1892			
Paddington	Emmanuel Harrow Road	1905-07 ⁶²			
Paddington	St Jude Kensal Green	1903, 1905, 1912			
Paddington	St Luke Kilburn	1899-1900	1911-14		
Paddington	Christ Church Lancaster Gate	1893-95 ⁶³			
Paddington	Holy Trinity Paddington	1912			
Paddington	St Michael Market Street Paddington				1914 ⁶⁴
Paddington	St Peter Paddington	1912	1911-14		
Westminster	St Clement Danes	1910 ⁶⁵			
Westminster	St Martin in the Fields	1893-1900			
Westminster	St Mary Le Strand		1910-14		
Westminster	St Paul Covent Garden	1903			
Westminster	St John Great Marlborough Street	1892			
Westminster	Christ Church Mayfair				1914 ⁶⁶
Westminster	St Gabriel Pimlico	1902-03, 1913 ⁶⁷	1910-14		
Westminster	St Mary Pimlico	1903			
Westminster	St Saviour Pimlico		1909-14		
Westminster	St Mary Soho	1903			
Westminster	St James Piccadilly	1898-1900, 1903, 1905			
Westminster	St John Westminster	1903			
Westminster	St Mary Tothill Fields	1905			
Westminster	St Matthew Great Peter Street		1910 ⁶⁸		

Westminster	St Stephen Rochester Row			1909 ⁸⁹	
Westminster	Christ Church Broadway			1914	
Westminster	St Paul Wilton Place		1903		
Kensington	Holy Trinity Brompton		1897-1900, 1905, 1910 ⁷⁰		1910 ⁷¹
Kensington	St Matthias Earls Court		1905		
Kensington	St Mary Abbotts		1896-1900, 1905		
Kensington	St Barnabas Kensington		1896-1900		
Kensington	St James Norland Square		1892, 1898-1900		
Kensington	All Saints Notting Hill		1897-1900, 1905		
Kensington	Christ Church Notting Hill		1897-1900		1914 ⁷²
Kensington	St Philip Earl's Court				
Kensington	St John Ladbroke Grove Notting Hill		1905-07 ⁷³		
Kensington	St Mark Notting Hill		1909-10 ⁷⁴		
Kensington	St Peter Cranley Gardens		1914 ⁷⁵		
Kensington	St Andrew Upper Westbourne		1905		
Kensington	St Mary Boltons West Brompton		1898-1900, 1903, 1909-13 ⁷⁶		
Chelsea	St Luke Sidney Street		1896-1900, 1905	1910-14	
Chelsea	St John Tadmira Road		1897-1900, 1909 ⁷⁷		1911-14 ⁷⁸
Chelsea	Holy Trinity Sloane Street				1912-14 ⁷⁹
Chelsea	St Saviour Walton Street				
Hammersmith	St Michael Bedford Park		1897-1900		
Hammersmith	St Nicholas Chiswick		1912		
Hammersmith	St Paul Chiswick Grove Park		1912		
Hammersmith	St Mary Chiswick		1899-1900, 1905, 1912		
Hammersmith	St Paul Broadway		1898-1900, 1903, 1905		
Hammersmith	St John Glenthorne Road		1905		
Hammersmith	St Matthew Sinclair Road		1895-1900	1912-14	
Hammersmith	St Peter Black Lion Lane		1899-1914 ⁸⁰		
Hammersmith	St Stephen Shepherds Bush		1894-97, 1902-06, 1909, 1914 ⁸¹	1912-14	
Hammersmith	St Saviour Shepherds Bush		1898-1900, 1903, 1905, 1908 ⁸²	1912-14	
Hammersmith	St Mary Stamford Brook		1911 ⁸³		
Hammersmith	Christ Church Turnham Green		1903		
Fulham	All Saints Putney Bridge		1905		
Fulham	St Andrew Fulham Fields		1894 ⁸⁴	1909-14 ⁸⁵	
Fulham	St Clement Fulham Palace Road		1892, 1905		

Fulham	St Matthew Wandsworth Bridge Road	1895-1900			
Fulham	St Alban Margravine Road	1903, 1905, 1908-14 ⁸⁶			
Fulham	St Mary North End	1903			
Fulham	St John Walham Green	1893-1900			
Fulham	St Dunstan Cranford		1910-14		
Hampton	St Mary Hampton	1905, 1912			
Hampton	St James Hampton Hill	1892, 1912			
Hampton	St John Hampton Wick	1896-1900			
Hampton	St George Hanworth	1912			
Hampton	St Mary Staines	1912			
Hampton	St Peter Staines	1903			
Hampton	St Mary Sunbury-on-Thames		1913 ⁸⁷		
Hampton	St Alban Teddington	1892-1900			
Hampton	St Peter/Paul Upper Teddington	1912			
Hampton	St Mary Twickenham	1896-1900, 1905	1909-14		
Hampton	St Stephen East Twickenham	1896-1900	1910-14		
Hampton	Holy Trinity Twickenham	1912			
Hampton	St Philip/James Whitton	1909, 1912			
Uxbridge	St Mary Hayes	1912			
Uxbridge	St Andrew Hillingdon	1892-1900, 1905, 1912			
Uxbridge	St John Hillingdon		1912-14		
Uxbridge	St Giles Ickenham		1913-14		
Uxbridge	St Margaret Uxbridge	1912			
Uxbridge	St Matthew Yiewsley		1909-14		
Willesden	Christ Church Brondesbury	1897-1900, 1912			
Willesden	St John Great Stanmore Harrow	1905, 1910	1914		
Willesden	St Mary Harrow on the Hill	1892-96 ⁸⁸			
Willesden	All Saints Harrow Weald	1892	1914		
Willesden	St Martin Kensal Rise	1905, 1912			
Willesden	Holy Trinity Kilburn		1909-14		
Willesden	St John Kilburn		1903-14		
Willesden	St Paul Kilburn	1905			
Willesden	St Lawrence Little Stanmore	1912			
Willesden	St Andrew/Holy Innocents Neasden	1905, 1912			
Willesden	Emmanuel Northwood	1912			

Willesden	Christ Church Roxeth	1894-1900, 1905, 1912		
Willesden	St Michael Stonebridge	1912		
Willesden	Holy Trinity Wealdstone	1912		
Willesden	St John Harrow Hill Wembley	1912		
Willesden	St Mary Willesden	1905	1912-14	
Willesden	St Andrew Willesden	1896-1900, 1908-12 ⁸⁹		1909 ⁹⁰
Willesden	St Gabriel Willesden Green			
Ealing	St Mary Acton	1899 ⁹¹	1909-14	
Ealing	St Alban Acton Green	1892, 1911-14 ⁹²	1909-14	
Ealing	All Saints South Acton	1898-1900, 1904-06 ⁹³ , 1912		
Ealing	St George Brentford	1895-1900		
Ealing	St Lawrence Brentford	1909, ⁹⁴ 1912		
Ealing	St Faith Brentford	1905-12 ⁹⁵		
Ealing	St Mary Ealing	1892		
Ealing	Christ Church Ealing	1892-1900, 1905		
Ealing	St John Ealing Dean	1892, 1912		
Ealing	St Mary Hanwell	1905, 1912	1910-14	
Ealing	St Leonard Heston	1897-1900, 1912		1914 ⁹⁶
Ealing	Holy Trinity Hounslow			
Ealing	St Stephen Hounslow	1912	1909-14	
Ealing	St John Isleworth		1909-14	
Ealing	All Souls Isleworth	1899-1900, 1905	1909-14	
Ealing	Holy Trinity Southall	1899-1900, 1905, 1912		
Ealing	St Mary Spring Grove	1892-1900, 1909, ⁹⁷ 1912		
Enfield	All Saints Edmonton	1897-1900, 1912	1912 ⁹⁸	
Enfield	St Mary Edmonton	1897-1900		
Enfield	St James Upper Edmonton	1894, 1901, ⁹⁹ 1905		
Enfield	St Peter Lower Edmonton		1912-14	
Enfield	St Michael Edmonton	1912		
Enfield	St Martin Edmonton	1905		1912 ¹⁰⁰
Enfield	St Andrew Enfield	1893-1900		
Enfield	St Mary Enfield Chase	1912		
Enfield	St James Enfield	1912		1910 ¹⁰¹
Enfield	St Stephen Bush Hill	1909 ¹⁰²		
Enfield	St Luke Enfield	1905		

Enfield	St George Highway	1912			
Enfield	St John Palmers Green	1911-12 ¹⁰³			
Enfield	St Matthew Ponders End	1893-97, 1901-07, ¹⁰⁴ 1912			
Enfield	St Michael at Bowes Southgate	1900-04, 19-1914 ¹⁰⁵		1909-14	
Enfield	St Paul Winchmore Hill	1897-1900		1911-14	
Hornsey	St Mary Finchley			1911-14	
Hornsey	Holy Trinity Finchley	1905, 1912			
Hornsey	Christ Church Finchley North End	1893-1900, 1911-12 ¹⁰⁶			
Hornsey	St James Friern Barnet	1901-1902 ¹⁰⁷			1909-13 ¹⁰⁸
Hornsey	All Saints Friern Barnet	1899-1900			
Hornsey	St Paul Haringey	1901-1912 ¹⁰⁹			
Hornsey	St Michael Highgate	1892-1901, 1907-13 ¹¹⁰			
Hornsey	St Mary Hornsey	1891-1900, 1905, 1909-12 ¹¹¹			
Hornsey	Christ Church Crouch End	1898-1900, 1905-12 ¹¹²			
Hornsey	Holy Innocents Hornsey	1896-1900, 1905			
Hornsey	St Peter Hornsey	1911-12 ¹¹³			
Hornsey	St Luke Hornsey		1909-14		
Hornsey	St James Muswell Hill	1894, 1905-12 ¹¹⁴			
Hornsey	St Paul New Southgate	1907, 1909, 1911-12 ¹¹⁵			
Hornsey	St Giles South Mimms		1914		
Hornsey	Holy Trinity Stroud Green	1898-1901, 1907-12 ¹¹⁶			
Tottenham	St Gabriel Bounds Green	1912			
Tottenham	St Ann Hangar Lane	1913 ¹¹⁷			
Tottenham	St Mark Noel Park	1893-1914 ¹¹⁸			
Tottenham	St Peter South Tottenham	1897-1900, 1905			
Tottenham	St Mary Tottenham	1912			
Tottenham	St Paul Tottenham	1896-1900			
Tottenham	Christ Church West Green	1899-1903 ¹¹⁹			1909-14 ¹²⁰
Tottenham	St Bartholomew Stamford Hill	1905, 1912			

¹ Rural deaneries are shown as per the re-organisation of 1901.
² There is no central archive for the LDCLB. The dates shown are in respect of those years for which there is archival evidence of an LDCLB at a particular parish. The main sources, in chronological order, are:

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- 1892: LPL, London Diocesan Council For The Welfare of Young Men First Annual Report 1892 which includes a list of all LDCLB companies registered in 1892
 - 1900 : CLCGB, LDCLB Handbook which includes a list of all LDCLB companies registered at that date and also shows their initial 'registration date'
 - 1903: LMA, ACC/1926/C/121 The Twentieth Century League In Aid Of The Boys of London First Annual Report which includes a list, prepared by each deanery in both the dioceses of London and Southwark of all boys' clubs/organisations in individual parishes within the specific deanery. This is not a complete resource as for instance no return was received from Kensington Deanery
 - 1905: GMS, 17885 Completed Articles of Enquiry re Diocese of London Visitation Return
 - 1912: CLB, The Territorial Force Association of the County of Middlesex First Annual Report of the Cadet Sub-Committee on the Progress of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation. This Report lists all LDCLB in Middlesex that were recognised as Cadet Companies
- In the above list of parish/dates where no specific other reference to an archive source is given the date has been obtained from one/or more of the above sources.
- In the case of the 1900 Handbook dates joined by a hyphen the earlier date indicates the year the LDCLB was registered.
- ³ In respect of the LDDBS unless a separate reference is shown the dates of a particular parish troop are listed in 'The LDDBS Corps Troop List & Scoutmaster Addresses 1917' held at the SA archives in the LDDBS box marked 'London', or in the Folder marked 337 which contains the Programme of the Great Scout Exhibition at Holborn Hall Grays Inn Road held on 6 & 7 Dec 1912 and the 'London Diocesan Boy Scouts Scrapbook' which contains photos of various camps held at Cooden or Seaford
- ⁴ LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, St James the Great Bethnal Green, Scrapbook - Red Church Troop Boy Scouts no affiliation shown.
 - ⁵ In the possession of the author, St Jude Bethnal Green, Parish Magazines 1893; LMA, P72/JUD/50, St Jude Parish Magazines 1897 (Apr).
 - ⁶ LMA, P72/MTW/326, St Matthew Bethnal Green, Parish Magazines 1909.
 - ⁷ R&H Programme of Guildhall Display 5 Mar 1913 by LDCLB.
 - ⁸ BL *London Diocesan Magazine* Jun 1902.
 - ⁹ LMA P72/JSG/118/1 St James the Great Bethnal Green Scrapbook - Red Church Troop Boy Scouts no affiliation shown.
 - ¹⁰ BL *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jun 1902.
 - ¹¹ R&H Programme of Guildhall Display 5 Mar 1913 by LDCLB.
 - ¹² LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, St James the Great Bethnal Green, Scrapbook - Red Church Troop Boy Scouts no affiliation shown.
 - ¹³ LMA, P91/ALL/93, All Saints Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1897-1905 (Apr 1903); P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1904 (Feb)
 - ¹⁴ LMA, P91/AUG/95, St Augustine Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1897-1905 (Apr 1903); P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1904 (Feb)
 - St Augustine LDCLB attended evening service; P91/AUG/26, St Augustine Haggerston Parish Magazines 1912.
 - ¹⁵ LMA, P91/COL/124-126, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1905-09.
 - ¹⁶ LMA, P91/COL/127-128, St Columba Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1910-11 - BPBS.
 - ¹⁷ LMA, P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney Parish Magazines 1904 (Feb).
 - ¹⁸ LMA, P91/TRI/76-80, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1898-1918;
 - ¹⁹ LMA, P91/TRI/79/1, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1910-13; mention in 1910 of the LDCLB having a sub-meeting for 'scouts' by Jan 1913 were affiliated to the British Boy Scouts.
 - ²⁰ LMA, P91/SAV/72, St Saviour Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1899-1914 (Oct 1911 & Mar 1914) - no mention of which organisation they were affiliated to
 - ²¹ LMA, P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1904 (Feb).
 - ²² LMA, P79/MTW/45-48, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1899-1914.

- ²³ LMA, P79/MTW/47, St Matthew Upper Clapton, Parish Magazines 1909-12 (Sep 1909 & Nov 1910) – affiliated to BPBS.
- ²⁴ LMA P79/JNJ/405-408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1900-04.
- ²⁵ LMA, P79/BAN/1023, St Barnabas Homerton, Statistics 1907-23.
- ²⁶ LMA, P79/TMS/19, St Thomas Stamford Hill, Parish Magazines 1901-09.
- ²⁷ LMA, P79/JNJ/408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1904 (Feb).
- ²⁸ LMA, P82/TRI/176-100, Holy Trinity Lincoln Inn Fields, Accounts 1909-12; P82/TRI/183, Annual Report 1913.
- ²⁹ *London Diocesan Magazine*, May 1910.
- ³⁰ LMA, P91/TRI/75, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1891-97 (Mar 1896).
- ³¹ LMA, P72/JSG/118/1, St James the Great Bethnal Green, Scrapbook - Red Church Troop Boy Scouts no affiliation shown.
- ³² LMA, DRO/095/79, St Michael Cricklewood, Parish Magazines 1907-12.
- ³³ R&H, St Stephen Hampstead, 3rd Annual Report 1907-08; 8th & 9th Report 1912-14.
- ³⁴ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jan 1914.
- ³⁵ LMA, P81/SAV/135-136, St Saviour South Hampstead, Year Books 1896-1915.
- ³⁶ R&H, Programme LDCLB Annual Display Finchley Road Baths 18 Dec 1913.
- ³⁷ LMA, DRO/29/187, St Mary Hendon, Parish Magazines May-Oct 1907 (Oct) & R&H, Programme LDCLB Annual Display Finchley Road Baths 18 Dec 1913.
- ³⁸ R&H, Programme LDCLB Annual Display Finchley Road Baths 18 Dec 1913.
- ³⁹ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Dec 1912 – no affiliation indicated.
- ⁴⁰ LMA, P83/PAU/67-68, St Paul Balls Pond, Parish Magazines 1905-18.
- ⁴¹ LMA, P83/LUK/76, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1901-05 (Jul 1901); P83/MRK/145-154 St Mark Tollington Park Parish Magazines 1904-14.
- ⁴² LMA, P83/LUK/76, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1901-05 (Jul 1901).
- ⁴³ LMA, P83/LUK/76, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1901-05 (Jul 1901).
- ⁴⁴ LMA, P83/JNE/411, St John Upper Holloway, Annual Reports 1898-1908.
- ⁴⁵ LMA, P83/JNE/705, St John Upper Holloway, Parish Magazine 1910 (Aug) – no reference to affiliation.
- ⁴⁶ LMA, P83/PET/142, St Peter Dartmouth Park Hill, Annual Reports 1907-16 – no reference to affiliation.
- ⁴⁷ LMA, P83/LUK/66-67, St Luke Holloway, Reports 1866-1919; P83/LUK/76-80, Parish Magazines 1901-14.
- ⁴⁸ LMA, P83/LUK/78-80, St Luke West Holloway, Parish Magazines 1912-14 – affiliated to BPBS.
- ⁴⁹ LMA, P90/TRI/089-090, Holy Trinity Haverstock Hill, Annual Reports 1890-95 & 1903 & 1907-15.
- ⁵⁰ GMS, 17886, Completed Articles of Enquiry 1911, 23-8.
- ⁵¹ LMA, P90/JNB/69 & 75-76 & 78, St John Kentish Town, Parish Magazines 1905, 1911-12 & 1914.
- ⁵² LMA, P90/LUK/133, St Luke Osney Crescent, Parish Magazines 1911-35 (May 1911) – affiliated to BPBS.
- ⁵³ LMA, DRO/070/369, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1909 (Nov).
- ⁵⁴ R&H, Programme of Guildhall Display 5 Mar 1913 included LDCLB from St Mary; *London Diocesan Magazine*, Aug 1914
- ⁵⁵ GMS, 17886, Completed Articles of Enquiry 1911, 23-19.
- ⁵⁶ LMA, P89/PAU/24, St Paul Lisson Road, Parish Notes 1914-15 (Jun 1914) – no mention of affiliation.
- ⁵⁷ LMA, P89/ALS/145, All Souls Langham Place St Marylebone, Annual Reports 1886-1914; P89/ALS/151, Parish Magazine Oct 1905.
- ⁵⁸ LMA, P89/ALS/145, – 1908 no affiliation mentioned but in view of date possibly a scout troop associated with the LDCLB.

- ⁵⁹ LMA, P83/JSA/19, Christ Church Marylebone, Year Book 1897.
- ⁶⁰ *London Diocesan Magazine*, May 1901.
- ⁶¹ SA, Folder 337, LDBS Scrapbook – photos of Cooden Camp 1910.
- ⁶² LMA, P87/EMM/71, Emmanuel Harrow Road, Year Book 1906-07.
- ⁶³ LMA, P87/CTC/53-55, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parish Magazines/Parochial Reports 1893-95.
- ⁶⁴ LMA, P87/MAA/38, St Michael and All Angels Paddington, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jul) – no mention of affiliation.
- ⁶⁵ LMA, DRO/070/370, St Michael at Bowes Southgate Parish Magazines 1910-12 (May 1910).
- ⁶⁶ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Aug 1914 – no mention of affiliation.
- ⁶⁷ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jun 1902; R&H, Programme of Guildhall Display 5 Mar 1913.
- ⁶⁸ SA, Folder 337, LDBS Scrapbook – photos of Cooden Camp 1910.
- ⁶⁹ SA, Folder 337, LDBS Scrapbook – photos of Cooden Camp 1909.
- ⁷⁰ LMA, P84/TRI/152, Holy Trinity Brompton, Annual Report 1910.
- ⁷¹ LMA, P84/TRI/152, Holy Trinity Brompton Annual Report 1910 – affiliation not indicated.
- ⁷² LMA, P84/PHI/35, St Philip Earl's Court, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan) – affiliation not indicated.
- ⁷³ LMA, P84/JN/123, St John Ladbroke Grove, Year Books 1880-1907.
- ⁷⁴ LMA, P84/MRK/174/7/2, St Mark Notting Hill, Parish Magazines 1909-12.
- ⁷⁵ LMA, P84/PET/1/129, St Peter Cranley, Parish Magazines 1914.
- ⁷⁶ LMA, P84/MRY/1/42, St Mary the Boltons Kensington, Annual Reports 1909-16.
- ⁷⁷ LMA, P74/JN/30, St John Chelsea, Annual Reports 1909-16.
- ⁷⁸ LMA, P74/TRI/87 & 90, Holy Trinity Upper Chelsea Parish Magazines 1911 & 1914 – affiliated to BPBS
- ⁷⁹ LMA, P74/SAV/103, St Saviour Chelsea, Parish Magazines 1912-18 (Jan 1914) – affiliated to BPBS.
- ⁸⁰ LMA, P80/PET/7/1/1, St Peter Hammersmith, Annual Reports 1901-15.
- ⁸¹ LMA, P80/STE/188-194 & 198-201, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1894-99 & 1902-14.
- ⁸² LMA P77/ALB/68, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1908 (Jan).
- ⁸³ LMA, DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton, Parish Magazines 1910-15 (Jan 1911).
- ⁸⁴ LMA, P77/AND/123/13, St Andrew Fulham, Parish Magazines 1894.
- ⁸⁵ LMA, P77/AND/123/16-20, St Andrew Fulham, Parish Magazines 1907-14, initially an LDBS troop by 1911 was affiliated to the BPBS
- ⁸⁶ LMA, P77/ALB/067-074, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1903-14.
- ⁸⁷ LMA, P72/MTW/329, St Matthew Bethnal Green, Parish Magazines 1913 (Aug).
- ⁸⁸ R&H, Christ Church Roxeth & Harrow CLB Centenary Publication 1894-1994.
- ⁸⁹ LMA, DRO/099/138-142, St Andrew Willesden Green, Parish Magazines 1906-11.
- ⁹⁰ LMA, DRO/099/139, St Andrew Willesden Green, Parish Magazines 1909 – refers to scout troop connected to the LDCLB.
- ⁹¹ LMA, DRO52/174, St Mary Acton, Annual Report 1899.
- ⁹² LMA, DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton, Parish Magazines 1910-15.
- ⁹³ LMA, DRO56/027, All Saints South Acton, Parish Reports 1893-1908.
- ⁹⁴ LMA, DRO76/54, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1909 (May).

- ⁹⁵ LMA, DRO76/51-57, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1905-12.
- ⁹⁶ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Jan 1914 – no indication of affiliation.
- ⁹⁷ LMA, DRO76/54, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1909 (May).
- ⁹⁸ SA, Folder 337, LDBS Scrapbook – Programme Great Scoutcraft Exhibition at the Holborn Hall Grays Inn Road Dec 1912
- ⁹⁹ LMA, DRO64/123 & 125, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-94 & 1899-1902 (May 1894 & Sep 1901).
- ¹⁰⁰ *London Diocesan Magazine*, Dec 1912 – no indication of affiliation.
- ¹⁰¹ LMA, DRO54/102, St James Enfield, Constitution of the 1st Enfield (St James's) Troop of the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts.
- ¹⁰² LMA, DRO70/369, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1909 (Nov).
- ¹⁰³ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programme of the Annual Display of the No. VII Battalion LDCLB held on 6 Apr 1911.
- ¹⁰⁴ LMA, DRO/64/123-126, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-1907.
- ¹⁰⁵ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914.
- ¹⁰⁶ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey Scrapbook 1907-Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB on 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912.
- ¹⁰⁷ LMA, DRO/12/1/K1/4, St James Friern Barnet, Parish Magazines 1894-1902.
- ¹⁰⁸ LMA, DRO/12/1/K1/11 & 14-15, St James Friern Barnet, Parish Magazines 1909 & 1912-13 – BPBS.
- ¹⁰⁹ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14; DRO/53/273, Parish Magazines 1900-09.
- ¹¹⁰ LMA, P83/JSA/28, St Michael Highgate, Parish Magazine Oct 1901; DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB held on 12 Mar 1907, 18 Mar 1909, 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912; P90/MIC1/94, St Michael Highgate, Annual Reports 1893-1920.
- ¹¹¹ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB held on 12 Mar 1907, 18 Mar 1909, 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912.
- ¹¹² LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB held on 12 Mar 1907, 18 Mar 1909, 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912.
- ¹¹³ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB on 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912.
- ¹¹⁴ LMA, DRO49/264, St James Muswell Hill, Parish Magazine Feb 1894; DRO49/222/1, Address and Balance Sheets 1908; DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB held on 12 Mar 1907, 18 Mar 1909, 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May.
- ¹¹⁵ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB held on 12 Mar 1907, 18 Mar 1909, 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912.
- ¹¹⁶ LMA, DRO/53/251, St Paul Harringey, Scrapbook 1907-14 Programmes for Annual Displays of No. VII Battalion of LDCLB held on 12 Mar 1907, 18 Mar 1909, 6 Apr 1911 & 2 May 1912; DRO/53/273, St Paul Harringey, Parish Magazines 1900-09 (Dec 1901).
- ¹¹⁷ R&H, Programme Annual Display by LDCLB at Finchley Road Baths.
- ¹¹⁸ LMA, DRO63/75-77, St Mark Noel Park, Parish Magazines 1903-19.
- ¹¹⁹ LMA, DRO30/E1/11-14, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1900-03.
- ¹²⁰ LMA, DRO30/E1/20-25, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1909-14 – BPBS.

¹ Unless annotated individually all numbers for 1903 are from LMA ACC/1926/C/121 The Twentieth Century League in aid of the Boys and Girls of London First Annual Report 1903.

² Unless annotated individually all numbers for 1905 are from GMS 17885 Completed Articles of Enquiry 1905 Diocese of London.

³ Unless annotated individually all numbers are from CLCGB, The Territorial Force Association of the County of Middlesex First Annual Report of the Cadet Sub-Committee on the Progress of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation dated 1 Jan 1912.

⁴ LMA, P91/AUG/26, St Augustine Haggerston, Parish Magazines 1912 (May).

⁵ LMA, P91/COL/124-125, St Columba Hackney, Parish Magazines 1905-08 (Dec 1905 & Mar 1907).

⁶ LMA, P91/TRI/78/1-79/1, Holy Trinity Hoxton, Parish Magazines 1906-13 (Apr 1908 & Apr 1911).

⁷ LMA, P79/JNJ/401-408, St John South Hackney, Parish Magazines 1896-1904 (Apr 1896, Nov 1898, Dec 1901 & Apr 1904).

⁸ LMA, P79/BAN/1/023, St Barnabas Homerton, Statistics 1907-23.

⁹ R&H, St Stephen Hampstead, LDCLB Report 1913-14.

¹⁰ LMA, P81/SAV/144-147, St Saviour Hampstead, Parish Magazines 1892-1902 (Nov 1893); P81/SAV/136 Year Books 1906-15 (1913).

¹¹ LMA, P83/PET/2/227, St Peter Islington, Parish Magazines 1900 (Oct).

¹² LMA, P83/MRK/145-154, St Mark Tollington Park, Parish Magazines 1904-14 (Oct 1908 & Sep 1909).

¹³ LMA, P83/JNE/411, St John Upper Holloway, Annual Reports 1898-1908 (1901).

¹⁴ LMA, P83/LUK/76, St Luke Holloway, Parish Magazines 1901-05 (Sep 1902).

¹⁵ LMA, P87/CTC/53, Christ Church Lancaster Gate, Parish Magazines/Parochial Report 1893.

¹⁶ LMA, P84/MRK/1747/2, St Mark Notting Hill, Parish Magazines 1909-12 (Mar 1910).

¹⁷ LMA, PET/PET/1/129, St Peter Cranley Gardens, Parish Magazines 1914 (Jan).

¹⁸ LMA, P80/PET/7/1/1, St Peter Hammersmith, Annual Reports 1901-15.

¹⁹ LMA, P80/STE/188, St Stephen Hammersmith, Parish Magazines 1894 (Dec).

²⁰ LMA, P77/ALB/067-071, St Alban Fulham, Parish Magazines 1903 & 1908-11 (Jul 1903, Jan 1909 & Mar 1911).

²¹ LMA, DRO41/A4/1, St Peter Staines, Parochial Register 1901-04.

²² LMA, P84/MRY/192, St Mary Boltons, Parish Magazines 1892-93 includes Teddington Parish Magazine (Nov 1892).

²³ R&H, Roxeth & Harrow LDCLB, Roll Book 1894-1903.

²⁴ LMA, DRO/099/139, St Andrew Willesden, Parish Magazines 1909 (Mar).

²⁵ LMA, DRO/055/056, St Alban Acton Green, Parish Magazines 1910-15 (Mar 1914).

²⁶ LMA, DRO76/51, St Faith Brentford, Parish Magazines 1905 (May).

²⁷ LMA, DRO64/123, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-94 (May 1894).

²⁸ LMA, DRO64/123, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-94 (May 1894).

²⁹ LMA, DRO64/123-126, St Matthew Ponders End, Parish Magazines 1891-1907 (Jan & May 1894, Apr 1902 & Jul 1907).

³⁰ LMA, DRO70/224-371, St Michael at Bowes Southgate, Parish Magazines 1892-1914 (Jun 1900, Jan 1901, Jul 1909, May 1910 & Jul 1913).

³¹ LMA, DRO53/273, St Paul Harringey Parish Magazines, 1900-09 (Dec 1901).

³² LMA, DRO30/E1/11, Christ Church West Green, Parish Magazines 1900 (Feb).

APPENDIX 6			
OFFICERS/LADS LDCLB 1912			
MIDDLESEX CADETS ¹			
Deanery	Parish	Officers	Lads
Ealing	All Saints South Acton	2	25
Ealing	St Lawrence Brentford	1	30
Ealing	Holy Trinity Southall	2	30
Ealing	St Mary Hanwell	2	20
Ealing	St Mary Spring Grove	1	22
Ealing	St Faith Brentford	1	18
Ealing	St John Ealing	3	35
Ealing	St Alban Acton Green	3	38
Enfield	All Saints Edmonton	4	55
Enfield	St Andrew & Mary Enfield	1	40
Enfield	St George Enfield	2	38
Enfield	St Matthew Ponders End	1	31
Enfield	St Michael at Bowes Southgate	3	32
Enfield	St Michael Edmonton	-	35
Enfield	St James Enfield	3	45
Enfield	St John Palmers Green	1	15
Hammersmith	St Mary Chiswick	3	130
Hammersmith	St Nicholas Chiswick	1	40
Hammersmith	St Paul Chiswick Grove Park	-	30
Hampstead	St Saviour Hampstead	3	50
Hampstead	St Michael Cricklewood	2	32
Hampstead	Christ Church Hampstead	2	31
Hampstead	St Mary Kilburn	3	90
Hampstead	St Stephen Hampstead	2	25
Hampstead	St Mary Hendon	4	55
Hampstead	St Peter Cricklewood	2	20
Hampstead	Holy Trinity Hampstead	2	30
Hampstead	St John Hampstead	-	20
Hampton	St James Hampton Hill	1	35
Hampton	St Philip Whitton	2	32
Hampton	St Mary Hampton	3	45
Hampton	St Mary Staines	2	30
Hampton	Holy Trinity Twickenham	2	38
Hampton	St Peter/Paul Teddington	2	49
Hampton	St George Hanworth	1	33
Hornsey	St Mary Hornsey	2	38
Hornsey	St Michael Highgate	2	38
Hornsey	Christ Church Finchley	3	25
Hornsey	St Peter Hornsey	3	27
Hornsey	Christ Church Crouch End	2	40
Hornsey	St Paul Harringay	2	20
Hornsey	St Paul Southgate	2	61
Hornsey	Holy Trinity Finchley	1	40
Hounslow	St Stephen Hounslow	3	30
Hounslow	St Leonard Heston	2	20

¹ All numbers are from CLCGB, The Territorial Force Association of the County of Middlesex First Annual Report of the Cadet Sub-Committee on the Progress of the Middlesex County Territorial Cadet Organisation dated 1 Jan 1912.

Paddington	St Jude Kensal Green	1	30
Paddington	St Peter Paddington	2	40
Paddington	Holy Trinity Paddington	2	31
St Pancras	St Ann Brookfield	2	83
Tottenham	St Bartholomew Stamford Hill	3	18
Tottenham	St Mark Noel Park	3	43
Tottenham	St Gabriel Bounds Green	2	29
Tottenham	St Mary Tottenham	1	46
Uxbridge	St Andrew Hillingdon	4	35
Uxbridge	St Margaret Uxbridge	3	25
Uxbridge	St Mary Hayes	2	35
Willesdon	Holy Trinity Wealdstone	2	77
Willesdon	Christ Church Roxeth	3	133
Willesdon	Emmanuel Northwood	2	20
Willesdon	Holy Trinity Wealdstone	2	40
Willesdon	St Lawrence Little Stanmore	1	26
Willesdon	St John Harrow Hill Wembley	2	30
Willesdon	St Andrew Neasden	-	31
Willesden	Christ Church Brondesbury	-	34
Willesden	St Martin Kensal Rise	2	48
Willesden	St Michael Stonebridge	3	30
Willesden	St Andrew Willesden Green	1	35

APPENDIX 7

NATIONAL SERVICE LEAGUE BRANCHES IN ENGLAND 1908 & 1913¹

Branch	Incorporated	1908 Committee Numbers (Clergy)	1913 Committee Numbers (Clergy)	1908 Member Numbers (Clergy)	1913 Member Numbers (Clergy)	1908 Associate Numbers	1913 Associate Numbers	1908 Adherent Numbers	1913 Adherent Numbers
Barrow & North Lonsdale ²	Sep 1907	9		10		15		n/a	
Bedfordshire ³	Jan 1908	12	24 (2)	20	150 (2)	165	1823	19	1044
Berkshire	Dec 1908		17		234 (9)		729		3077
Birmingham	Feb 1906	8	11	141 (2)	178 (1)	110	882	28	1370
Bolton	May 1906	14		62 (1)		110		n/a	
Boston	Feb 1909		14		20		430		572
Brighton	Nov 1906	13 (2)		66 (2)		165		252	
Bristol	Jan 1907	20 (3)	31 (6)	30 (1)	164 (6)	92	650	56	377
Buckinghamshire	Jul 1909		32		351 (5)		2790	3926	
Cambridgeshire	Jan 1911		12		165 (16)		920		3017
Cheltenham	Apr 1907	16 (1)	12	32	59 (1)	92	248	16	174
Cheshire	Dec 1909		12		345 (7)		1595		1224
Chester	Nov 1907	12		17 (3)		124		3	
Derbyshire & Sheffield ⁴	Jan 1907	12	n/a	22	212 (7)	97	838	6	978
Devonshire ⁵	Jan 1906	17 (2)	28 (1)	113 (1)	721 (24)	253	2907	642	4544
Dorsetshire	Jan 1909		25		210 (5)		1779		2718
Eastbourne	Nov 1907	9	9	68 (3)	194 (3)	82	644	70	1530
East Dorset	Sep 1907	8 (1)		30 (3)		113		2	
East Grinstead	Mar 1906	18		38 (2)		n/a		n/a	
East Sussex	Mar 1909		43		384 (3)		1220		3184
Essex ⁶	May 1907	11 (1)	57 (5)	155 (1)	464 (12)	527	4636	145	11019
Folkestone	Apr 1907	21 (1)		36 (1)	64 (1)	26	445	2	572
Gloucestershire	Dec 1907	17 (1)	32 (1)	36 (1)	401 (10)	43	2919	8	9582
Hampshire	Dec 1908		32		553 (13)		2584		6742
Hartlepoons ⁷	Feb 1907	14	10	11 (1)	25 (1)	166	55	n/a	60
Hastings & District ⁸	Apr 1906	22 (2)	16	71 (6)	82 (5)	173	433	60	410

Branch	Incorporated	1908 Committee Numbers (Clergy)	1913 Committee Numbers (Clergy)	1908 Member Numbers (Clergy)	1913 Member Numbers (Clergy)	1908 Associate Numbers	1913 Associate Numbers	1908 Adherent Numbers	1913 Adherent Numbers
Havant and Emsworth	Jan 1909		23 (2)		35 (1)		132		461
Hayling Island	Nov 1905	11		16		84		9	
Herefordshire	Feb 1909		21 (1)		202 (6)		1043		2440
Hertfordshire	Dec 1908		19		339 (9)		1896		4640
Huntingdonshire	Oct 1909		20 (1)						
Kent	Apr 1910		40 (1)		532 (19)		3861		7526
Lancashire ⁹	Jan 1909		29		1166 (16)		7450		7948
Leamington & Warwick	Jul 1906	11 (1)		66 (1)		53		44	
Leicestershire	Dec 1911		19		84 (1)		216		53
Lincolnshire	Feb 1910		38 (5)		123 (5)		896		2750
Liverpool	Jul 1904	10		179 (2)		921		5	
Manchester	Feb 1905	14 (1)		77 (3)		n/a		n/a	
Middlesex	Feb 1910		12 (1)		204 (4)		1404		1235
Norfolk & Norwich	Feb 1906	12	31 (1)	50 (2)	236 (7)	111	1749	52	4385
Northamptonshire	Jul 1909		34		144 (6)		1583		10600
Northumberland ¹⁰	Sep 1906	14	20	60	219 (1)	36	563	n/a	600
Nottinghamshire	n/a		22		188 (8)		1329		2878
Oxford City	Jan 1908	16 (1)	6	48 (10)	30 (5)	309	209	41	729
Preston & Blackpool	Apr 1907	8		18		14		n/a	
St Helens	May 1904	n/a		n/a		n/a		n/a	
Shropshire	Dec 1908		37		166 (7)		655		2223
Somersetshire	Jan 1910		39 (1)		364 (9)		2289		2513
Staffordshire	Aug 1909		47 (1)		186 (3)		723		3174
Suffolk	Apr 1910		14		209 (9)		1228		8882
Surrey	May 1906	44 (1)	54	321 (14)	1053 (10)	1120	4469	373	5796
Warrington	Jun 1903	15 (3)		45 (1)		1122		n/a	
Warwickshire	Jul 1909		14 (1)		217 (5)		803		1147
West Sussex	Mar 1907	Not formed	40 (2)	68 (2)	387 (23)	n/a	1295	n/a	2461
Wigan	Mar 1907	Not formed		20		22		n/a	
Wiltshire	Sep 1909		15		169 (4)		1205		1823
Worcestershire	Feb 1907	10	6	70 (5)	274 (7)	78	2199	n/a	7120

Branch	Incorporated	1908 Committee Numbers (Clergy)	1913 Committee Numbers (Clergy)	1908 Member Numbers (Clergy)	1913 Member Numbers (Clergy)	1908 Associate Numbers	1913 Associate Numbers	1908 Adherent Numbers	1913 Adherent Numbers
Yorkshire East Riding & Hull	Jan 1912		35 (1)		131 (2)		287		1756
Yorkshire North Riding	Dec 1906	11	31 (1)	39 (2)	114 (3)	41	404	n/a	1422
Yorkshire West Riding	Apr 1909		15 (1)		321 (7)		1152		2997
No Specific Branch Listed ¹¹				2040 (34)	3104 (27)	n/a	7562	n/a	12223

¹ The NSL Report and Balance Sheet 6th AGM 24 Jun 1908; The NSL 11th Annual Report 31 March 1913.

² The 1913 figures are included in the 'Lancashire' figures.

³ The 1913 Annual Report gives the incorporation date as December 1908.

⁴ In the 1908 Report this branch was named 'Sheffield'.

⁵ In the 1908 Report this branch was named 'Devon & Exeter'. Under 'Devonshire' the 1913 Report shows two sub-branches; 'Devon' and 'Three Towns and South Devon'. The figures given in 1913 are a combination of these two.

⁶ The 1913 Annual Report gives the incorporation date as March 1909.

⁷ In the 1908 Report this branch was named 'The Hartlepoons'.

⁸ In the 1908 Report this branch was named 'Hastings'.

⁹ The 1913 figures include the three 'divisions' within the Lancashire branch of Barrow & North Lonsdale, Cumberland and Westmoreland.

¹⁰ In the 1908 Report this branch was named 'Northampton & Newcastle'.

¹¹ Alphabetical list of 'unattached' members in both the 1908 and 1913 Reports.

APPENDIX 8

ARMY LIST MARCH 1891¹

Clergy	Clerical Position 1891	Chaplain to/based at
Barker, William	Vicar St Marylebone	5 th (West Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, St John's Wood Road, Regent's Park
Billing, Robert Claudius	Bishop of Bedford	2 nd Tower Hamlets Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), Whitechapel Road
Blunt, Henry Wilfred	Vicar in Norfolk	2 nd London Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Holborn Circus
Bradley, George G	Dean of Westminster	13 th (Queen's) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, James Street, Buckingham Gate
Brownrigg, J Studholme	Westminster Abbey	3 rd Middlesex Artillery Volunteers Royal Artillery Charing Cross
Bushell, William Done	Asst Master Harrow School	9 th Harrow Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Harrow
Byng, Francis Edward	Retired	1 st Middlesex Engineer Volunteers Fortress and Railway Forces Royal Engineers, Fulham Road
Cadman, William	Vicar Holy Trinity Marylebone	3 rd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Albany Street, Regent's Park
Duckworth Robinson	Vicar St Mark Maida Vale	12 th (Civil Service) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Somerset House, River Thames
Farrar, Frederick Wm	Canon at Westminster	2 nd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Great Smith Street, Westminster
Glyn, Edward Carr	Vicar St Mary Abbots	4 th (West London) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, High Street, Kensington
Gray Edward Ker	Minister St George Piccadilly	2 nd (South Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Walham Green, Fulham
Hall, William John	Vicar St Clements Eastcheap	2 nd Middlesex Artillery Volunteers Royal Artillery, Artillery Barracks, City Road
Hawkins, William B. L.	Chaplain to Royal Family	1 st London Artillery Volunteers (City of London) Eastern Division Royal Artillery, Barbican
Holland, Henry Scott	Canon at St Pauls	22 nd (Central London Rangers) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Grays Inn
How, William Walsham	Bishop of Wakefield	15 th (The Customs and the Docks) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade, Customs House, River Thames
Jones Harry	Vicar St Philip Regent's Street	1 st London Artillery Vol. Bat. Royal Artillery, Barbican
Jones Samuel Flood	Vicar St Botolph Aldersgate	1 st London Engineer Vols. Fortress & Railway Forces Royal Engineers, Barnsbury Park, Islington
Kingston, John	Curate Bembridge IofW	3 rd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Regent's Park
Kitto John Fenwick	Vicar St Martins in the Fields	16 th (London Irish) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), King William Street
Littlewood, Benjamin C	Vicar Warefield Oxon	18 th Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), Paddington
MacLagan, William D	Archbishop of York	14 th (Inns of Court) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), Lincoln's Inn
M'Sorley, Hugh	Vicar St Paul Tottenham	3 rd Middlesex Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Hornsey
Miles, Joseph	Vicar St Peter Battersea	1 st Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Fitzroy Square, Regent's Park
Nisbet, J. Marjoribanks	Vicar St Giles Holborn	19 th (St Giles & St George's Bloomsbury) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade, Bedford Square, Bloomsbury
Paget, Henry Luke	Vicar St Pancras	17 th (North Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Camden
Pownall, George Purves	Vicar St John Hoxton	1 st (The Tower Hamlets Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The Rifle Brigade, Shaftesbury Street, City Road
Roberts, Cresswell H	Chaplain Holborn Union Infirmary	3 rd Middlesex Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Hornsey
Roberts, William Page	Curate St Peter Marylebone	1 st Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Fitzroy Square, Regent's Park
Rogers, William	Vicar St Botolph Bishopsgate	1 st (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The Rifle Brigade, Finsbury Pavement

Rose, John Henry	Vicar St James Clerkenwell	21 st (The Finsbury Rifle Volunteer Corps) The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Pentonville Road
Scott, Alfred	Vicar St Mary Paddington	18 th Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), Paddington
Stokes, Henry Pelham	Vicar All Saints Isleworth	2 nd Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Hounslow
Warner, Arthur George	Vicar St Mary le Bow	1 st London Artillery Volunteers (City of London) Eastern Division Royal Artillery, Barbican

¹ In addition to those names listed the following were also listed as army chaplains within the geographical boundaries of the diocese of London but due to lack of information it has not been possible to identify them from *Crockfords*:

- Rev. M. Anderson, army chaplain with the 1st (The Tower Hamlets Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own) based in Shaftesbury Street City Road
- Rev. A. D. Clarke, army chaplain with the 1st (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps based at Finsbury Pavement in the City
- Rev. J. L. Davis, army chaplain with the 3rd (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps based in Farringdon Street.

ARMY LIST DECEMBER 1901¹

Clergy	Clerical Position 1901	Chaplain to/based at
Addison William Henry	Vicar in Kent	2 nd (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps
Anderson David	Vicar St George Hanover Sq	1 st Middlesex (Victoria & St George's) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Berkeley Square
Barker William	Vicar St Marylebone	5 th (West Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Park Road Regent's Park
Bell, Harold Chalmer	Curate in Oxford	1 st Cadet Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Finsbury Square
Bird Henry George	Vicar St Andrew Hillingdon	2 nd Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own, Hounslow
Blakeway Philip J T	Vicar in Battersea	Imperial Yeomanry Middlesex Regiment, Knightsbridge
Boyd-Carpenter A Boyd	Curate St Dunstan Stepney	19 th (St Giles & St George's) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade, Bedford Square Bloomsbury
Bradley George G	Dean of Westminster	13 th (Queen's) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Buckingham Gate
Bromley Nathaniel	Warden King's College H'pital	2 nd (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) King's Royal Rifle Corps, Bunhill Row City Road
Brownrigg, J Studholme	Westminster Abbey	3 rd Middlesex Artillery Volunteers Royal Artillery, Great Scotland Yard
Bushell William Done	Chaplain Harrow School	5 th (West Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Park Road Regent's Park
Butler James T B J	Vicar Ulcombe Maidstone	3 rd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Hampstead Road Regent's Park
Carter Charles Edwin J	Vicar St Matthew City Road	1 st Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own Middlesex Regiment, Hornsey
Cullin Joseph	Vicar St Matthew Clapton	1 st London Royal Engineer Volunteers, Barnsbury Park Islington
Dennis Herbert Wesley	Vicar in Battersea	2 nd (South Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Walham Green Fulham
Drabble Peter B	Vicar Holy Trinity Tottenham	2 nd Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Hounslow
Duckworth Robinson	Vicar St Mark Maida Vale	12 th (Civil Service) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Somerset House River Thames
Gib William Charles	Vicar St Philip B'am Palace Rd	1 st Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Fitzroy Square Regent's Park
Gray Edward Ker	Minister St George Piccadilly	3 rd (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Farringdon
Gull Charles George	H/M Grocers School Hackney	1 st (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Bunhill Row
Hudson Robert	Pr St Mark's College Chelsea	2 nd (South Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Walham Green Fulham
Jones Denton	Vicar All Hallows Tottenham	1 st Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Hornsey
Kingston John	Retired living Ladbroke Grove	3 rd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Hampstead Road Regent's Park
Kitto John Fenwick	Vicar St Martins in the Fields	16 th (London Irish) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), Charing Cross
Lang Cosmo Gordon	Bishop of Stepney	2 nd Hampshire (Southern Division) Volunteer Artillery, Southsea
Lutyns William E	Curate St John Westminster	2 nd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Tufton Street Westminster
Mant Newton Wm John	Vicar St Mary Hendon	5 th (West Middlesex) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Park Road Regent's Park
Mason Henry	Curate St Botolph Bishopsgate	15 th (The Customs & Docks) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade, Customs House River Thames
Mason Henry Alfred	Vicar St Stephen North Bow	2 nd (Tower Hamlets Rifle Vol. Brigade) The Rifle Brigade, Tredegar Road Bow
Moloney Percival John	Curate St Mary Finchley	3 rd Vol. Bat. The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), Hampstead Road Regent's Park

Paget, Henry Luke	Vicar St Pancras	17 th (North Middlesex) Vol. Bat The Duke of Cambridge's Own, Camden
Pearce Ernest Harold	Vicar Christ Church Newgate	24 th Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), General Post Office
Pennfather Somerset E	Vicar St Mary Abbots	4 th (West London) Vol. Bat. The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Kensington
Perry George Henry	Vicar St Luke Old Street	13 th East London (Tower Hamlets) Vol. Bat. Royal Engineers, Victoria Park Square
Redpath Henry Adeney	Vicar St Dunstan in the East	15 th (The Customs & Docks) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade, Customs House River Thames
Ridgeway, Frederick E	Bishop of Kensington	Hon. Artillery Company of London, The Armoury House Finsbury
Rosedale Honyel G	Vicar St Peter Kensington	1 st Middlesex Royal Engineer Volunteers, Fulham Road
Scott Alfred	Not in Diocese	18 th Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), Harrow Road
Shelford Leonard	Curate Holy Trinity Chelsea	4 th Grocers' Company's Schools Cadet Corps Clapton
Sheppard Edgar	Vicar in Oxfordshire	1 st (The Tower Hamlets Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The Rifle Brigade, City Road
Simson Samuel Barker	Not in Diocese	1 st City of London Volunteer Artillery Corps, Barbican
Sinclair William McD	Archdeacon of London	21 st (The Finsbury Rifle Volunteer Corps) The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Pentonville
Smith Henry Richard C	Not in Diocese	3 rd (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Farringdon
Thompson James P	Vicar Christ Church Chelsea	26 th (Cyclist) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (The Prince Consort's Own), West Brompton
Tupholme Benjamin S	Vicar St Stephen Ealing	2 nd Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment), Hounslow
Wace Henry	Prebend St Pauls	4 th (Inns of Court) Vol. Bat. The Rifle Brigade (the Prince Consort's Own), Lincolns Inn
Warner, Arthur George	Vicar St Mary le Bow	1 st London Artillery Volunteers (City of London) Eastern Division Royal Artillery, Barbican
White Cecil Edward	Vicar St Mary Hornsey	1st Vol. Bat. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment, Hornsey
Winnington-Ingram A F	Bishop of London	1 st (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Bunhill Row

¹ In addition to those names listed the following were also listed as army chaplains within the geographical boundaries of the diocese of London but due to lack of information it has not been possible to identify them from *Crockfords*:

- Rev. A. D. Clarke, army chaplain with the 1st (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps based at Bunhill Row in the City
- Rev. J. R. Smith, army chaplain with the 2nd (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade) The King's Royal Rifle Corps based at Bunhill Row in the City.

ARMY LIST JANUARY 1910¹

Clergy	Clerical Position 1910	Chaplain to/based at
Belcher, Robert Henry	Vicar St Michael Lewes	25 th (County of London) Cyclist Battalion The London Regiment Infantry T F, Putney
Bell, Harold Chalmer	Curate in Oxford	1 st Cadet Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Finsbury Square
Bell William Godfrey	Vicar in Streatham	2 nd (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) T F, Westminster
Bevan Henry Edward	Archdeacon Middlesex	2 nd London Battalion Royal Engineers T F, Fulham Road
Bird Henry George	Vicar St Andrew Hillingdon	8 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hounslow
Blakeway Philip J T	Vicar in Battersea	1 st County of London Regiment Yeomanry T F, Knightsbridge
Childe Christopher V	Chaplain Bishop of London	3 rd London Brigade Royal Field Artillery T F, Artillery Barracks City Road
Clementi-Smith Percival	Vicar St Anne Blackfriars	7 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment, Infantry T F Finsbury Square
Deedes Brook	Vicar St John Hampstead	1 st Cadet Battalion The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment) T F, Hampstead
Harte Joseph Brooke	Vicar Christ Church Hoxton	4 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) T F, City Road
Hunns Albert	Vicar St Michael Paddington	King's Colonials Regiment Yeomanry T F, Fulham Road
Laffan Robert S de C	Vicar St Stephen Wallbrook	12 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (The Rangers) T F, Tottenham Court Road
Mason Henry Alfred	Vicar St Stephen North Bow	17 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Poplar & Stepney Rifles) T F, Bow
Nash Joseph John G	Vicar St Alphage L'don Wall	1 st Cadet Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps T F, Finsbury Square
Ogle William Rathmell	Vicar St Michael Highgate	7 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hornsey
Pearce Ernest Harold	Vicar Christ Church Newgate	8 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Post Office Rifles) T F, Throgmorton Avenue
Pennefather Somers E	Vicar St Mary Abbots	13 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Kensington) T F, Kensington
Perry George Henry	Vicar St Luke Old Street	1 st London Battalion Royal Engineers T F, Victoria Park Square Bethnal Green
Ridgeway, Frederick E	Bishop of Kensington	Hon. Artillery Company of London, The Armoury House Finsbury
Shedden Roscow G	Curate All Saints Marylebone	1 st (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) Infantry T F, Fitzroy Sq
Sheppard Edgar	Vicar in Oxfordshire	4 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) Infantry T F, City Road
Sinclair Robert Henry	Vicar St Anselm Berkeley Sq	9 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Queen Victoria's Rifles) T F, Berkeley Sq
Sinclair William McD	Archdeacon of London	11 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Finsbury Rifles) T F, Pentonville
Thicknesse Francis N	Vicar St Mary Hornsey	7 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hornsey
Winnington-Ingram A F	Bishop of London	5 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (London Rifle Brigade) T F, Bunhill Row

¹ The complete accuracy of this *Army List* as a source material has to be questioned as two chaplains Dennis H. W. and Hudson R. were included in the 1901 and 1914 *Army List* in the earlier as chaplains to the 2nd (South Middlesex) Volunteer Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps based in Walham Green and in the later as chaplains to the 10th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own Territorial Force based in Hammersmith. However in the January 1910 *Army List* no chaplains

were shown against this particular T F Battalion, nor were Dennis/Hudson included in the Index. This implies an error in the January 1910 *Army List* as it seems unlikely that both would have left and subsequently returned to the chaplaincy. This may explain why the total numbers are low compared with the other years under discussion – however it is worth retaining in the paper as it highlighted the impact of the very recent structural changes within the army.

In addition to those names listed the following was also listed as an army chaplain within the geographical boundaries of the diocese of London but due to lack of information it has not been possible to identify him from *Crockfords*:

- Rev. H. Williams, army chaplain with the Inns of Court Officer Training Corps Infantry T.F. based at Lincoln's Inn.

ARMY LIST AUGUST 1914¹

Clergy	Clerical Position 1914	Chaplain to/based at
Bartholomew Graham	Secretary SPG	9 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Willesden Green
Battiscombe George C	Vicar St Margaret U'ridge	8 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hounslow
Bell, Harold Chalmer	Vicar Hollybush Worcs	1 st Cadet Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps, Finsbury Square
Bell William Godfrey	Vicar in Streatham	2 nd (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) T F, Tufton St Westminster
Bevan Henry Edward	Archdeacon Middlesex	2 nd London Battalion Royal Engineers T F, Duke of York's H/Quarters Chelsea
Blakeway Philip J T	Vicar in Battersea	1 st County of London Regiment Yeomanry T F, Duke of York's H/Quarters Chelsea
Bourchier Basil G	Vicar St Jude Hampstead	4 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) T F, City Road
Corbett, Frederick	Vicar St George in the East	3 rd (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) T F, Hampstead Road
Dennis Herbert Wesley	Vicar in Battersea	10 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hammersmith
Henson Herbert Hensley	Dean of Durham	15 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Civil Service Rifles) T F, Somerset House
Hine-Haycock Trevitt	Vicar Christ Ch Newgate	8 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Post Office Rifles) T F, Bunhill Row
Hudson Robert	Pr St Mark's College Chelsea	10 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hammersmith
Hunns Albert	Vicar St Michael Paddington	King Edward's Horse (The King's Oversea Dominions Regiment), Duke of York's H/Q Chelsea
Livingston-Macasse E	Curate St John Harrow	8 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Hounslow
Mason Henry Alfred	Vicar St Stephen North Bow	17 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Poplar & Stepney Rifles) T F, Bow
Metcalfe Edmund L	Vicar St Pancras	19 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (ST Pancras) T F, Camden Town
Morrow William E R	Not in Diocese	12 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (The Rangers) T F, Bedford Square
Must Henry	Vicar St David Holloway	11 th (County of London) The London Regiment (Finsbury Rifles) T F, Pentonville
Nash Joseph John G	Vicar St Alphege L'don Wall	1 st Cadet Battalion The King's Royal Rifle Corps T F, Finsbury Square
Ogle William Rathmell	Vicar St Michael Highgate	7 th Battalion The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) T F, Homsey
Pearce Ernest Harold	Dean at Westminster	8 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Post Office Rifles) T F, Bunhill Row
Pennefather Somerset E	Vicar St Mary Abbots	13 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Kensington) T F, Kensington
Perry George Henry	Vicar St Luke Old Street	1 st London Battalion Royal Engineers T F, Victoria Park Square Bethnal Green
Rainforth, John Daggett	Vicar St James Clapton	10 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Hackney) Infantry T F, Hackney
Ryle Herbert Edward	Dean of Westminster	16 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Queen's W'minster Rifles) T F, West'ter
Sandberg William	Vicar St Paul Paddington	3 rd (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) T F, Hampstead Road
Selwyn William	Vicar St Simon Chelsea	18 th (County of London) Battalion, The London Regiment (London Irish Rifles) T F, Chelsea
Shedden Roscow G	Curate All Saints Marylebone	1 st (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) Infantry T F, Bloomsbury
Sheppard Edgar	Vicar in Oxfordshire	4 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) Infantry T F, City Road
Sinclair Robert Henry	Vicar St Anselm Berkeley Sq	9 th (County of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Queen Victoria's Rifles) T F, Berkeley Sq

Sinclair William McD	Vicar in West Sussex	City of London Yeomanry T F, Finsbury Square
Smith Henry Richard C	Not in Diocese	7 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment Infantry T F, Finsbury Square
Wilkinson Agmond E	Curate in Southwark	6 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (Rifles) Infantry T F, Farringdon
Winnington-Ingram A F	Bishop of London	5 th (City of London) Battalion The London Regiment (London Rifle Brigade) T F, Bunhill Row

¹ Rev. John Stafford Northcote, vicar at St Andrew Westminster since 1889 was also listed as an Army Chaplain to the 1st Cadet Brigade The London Regiment (The Queen's), the only Battalions with the sobriquet 'The Queen's' in the London Regiment were the 22nd and the 24th County of London which were based in the Diocese of Southwark in Bermondsey and Kennington Park Road respectively.

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